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THE "Schoolmaster is abroad," is one of those sayings which, becoming the watchwords of contending factions, are already in vogue, before any one has given himself the time or trouble to weigh well their grounds or meaning. It is to one party a word of gathering; to another, of denunciation: to one, every thing typical of progression, to another of decline and disorder. Both have given it far too much importance. The schoolmaster is abroad, but we have yet to look for the educator.

It was a saying of Talleyrand's, "que l'éducation de l'Angleterre, était la meilleure de l'Europe, et puis c'était détestable." To the first part of this sentence we have long ceased to have any pretensions; we have still to wipe off the reproach of the second. The education of England, in all its grades, is still detestable, that is, where there is any education at all. A few years ago, Lord Brougham made a declaration, at a public meeting in Yorkshire, quite as bold; and though the answers to Lord Kerry's queries, have flattered us into a belief, that since that period we have made signal progress, and may now look the neighbouring nations in the face without shame, a very little reflection on the true nature of the question "sub judice," and some inquiry into the evidences offered for its support, will teach us that we are yet on the threshold, and, as far as the nation at large is concerned, have absolutely to begin. The fact is, we have no precise idea of what we are looking for,—educationists, and anti-educationists, are contending about everything else but education. Schoolmasters and school-houses are, in the mind of four-fifths of these gentlemen, the sum total of education. To hear them talk, one

would think that both parties were quite convinced they could teach with brick and mortar. If one man asks another how education is advancing in any particular school, he is instantly favoured with a sort of Almack's list of patrons and patronesses, none of whom have probably ever visited the institution in question; many of whom cannot, probably, recollect its name; coronets are mistaken for contributors, and committees for management; a charity dinner, with its accompanying duties and penalties, submits it once a-year, indeed, to the bespoken panegyric of the public, but there the "bore" ends—the country has nothing to say to it till the ensuing anniversary, and in the meantime all the world are satisfied that "education is advancing." If a man stands up in a public meeting, and entreats support for education, he has to occupy full three-fourths of the time of the public, in merely explaining his definitions, and gathering his auditors up to the level of his language. In the House of Commons the case is still more discouraging; if any doubt be expressed of the progress of "public instruction," (by the bye, a very narrow and exclusive term,) he is silenced by an overwhelming array of figures, and other financial mystifications. There are so many hundred school-rooms, so many thousand desks and forms, all unequivocally costing money, and all paid as unequivocally by the country; and after that, no one can be so indecent as to question whether education is advancing. It advances, as the Exchequer avers, most expensively and most magnificently. If any effort be made to give these contributions of the Government somewhat of a regular and organised form, an instant alarm is expressed at this unheard-of intrusion on private rights. A minister rises and begins his objections to these *doctrinaire* novelties, with a panegyric on the Voluntary system. It has already worked so well, and it is now working so much better, and it would be such a pity to disturb it in this rapid progress to perfection! Then comes the old saw, "*laissez-nous faire*;" which in ministerial mouths means simply, let us and our places alone. All this might be exceedingly wise and proper, if it were true; but the truth is directly the other way: the Voluntary system, the *laissez faire* system has not worked well, but has worked as ill as any system well could do. It has not even built school-houses, or filled those it has built with schoolboys. Mind has, of course, been a secondary consideration, or more accurately, in nine cases out of ten, it does not seem to have been a consideration at all. The Voluntary system has placed England at the bottom of the scale of European education. It has left her to blunder and to stumble as she likes. Exceptions doubtless there are, as there must be even under the worst arrangements. It is hard for every one, in so many millions of men, even with the strongest

encouragement, to go wrong. Accordingly, there are a few redeeming gleams of light, we candidly acknowledge; up and down, a school will be found, in the midst of all this barrenness, bearing the sound fruits of a judicious and laborious culture:—up and down, a teacher worthy of the high name—earnestly, and humbly, and wisely fulfilling a vocation to which, in spirit and truth, he has been called, may perchance be discovered; but he works in the darkness of the mine, he is not known beyond its limits; he is known only by the treasures, which, without being seen himself, he scatters around. These men are few, and regarded even when they work good, with fear and mistrust, like the alchemist of yore. In many places, the very parents, whose children derive from them all profit, look on them and their magic art with trembling. As every one in these favoured realms, believes himself or herself *born* an educationist, as we are all organically politicians, every one undertakes, as a matter of course, to teach the teacher. One calls on him, with the text of the Proverbs in his mouth, to be sure to whip well; another to cram well; a third to punish; a fourth to reward; one is for the Assembly's Catechism and the Book of Leviticus, another for Entick's Speaker and the Eton Grammar;—and as all are in contradiction to each other, and as all believe themselves right, it is a matter of no surprise they should at last compel the unfortunate reformer to surrender at discretion, and to give up his innovations, if he wishes to keep his scholars or salary. The great mass of our public schools thus flourish, as of old, in the perfectly undisturbed enjoyment of all their venerable absurdities. Drowsyhead and miseducation thrive unmolested; the twig is bent and espalliered after the old blundering orthodox fashion, Year after year fresh batches of laboriously fashioned blockheads are sent out to join the old, and in the mean time education is said to be rapidly advancing. All society feel the happy results in every possible shape, and yet is it still groping about for the causes which have produced them. We acknowledge that the conduct of masses must depend upon the conduct of individuals; and that of individuals, again, upon their intelligence and character. And yet it is this very character and this very intelligence, the original center-spring of the whole machine, upon the shaping of which we scarcely bestow a thought. We find at every step, our most benevolent wishes, our wisest designs, rendered null, by these obstacles. What are the unaccountable prejudices, the virulent party hostility, the sectarian animosities, the mistaken views of legislation and administration, with which, for years, the highest minds have to struggle, but, under one shape or other, manifestations of the one evil, early miseducation. It seems never to enter the mind of these learned Thebans, who rail against actual evils and difficulties,

that these effects do not grow up in a night,—that the creature must have a creator—that men do not make themselves, but are so made by circumstances;—and that, if they are to have a community such as they would wish, they must begin with the community as they would with the individual, in the *nursery*. A prison will waste the fairest cheek, and cripple into deformity the stoutest and noblest form that ever came from the hand of the Creator. Has not the mind as well as the body its fetters, and prisons, its noisome and crippling dungeons and enduring glooms? Not on the captive, but on the captive's keeper; not on society as it is made, but on those who made it such; not on the grown man, with his crimes and follies, but on those who planted the vices of the grown-man in the yet untainted child, should we pour out the vials of our indignation. It is a question, indeed, how far society can with any justice punish crimes which it actually produces, or whether every criminal, miseducated through its negligence, is not a victim to blind and indiscriminate cruelty. The state, in such a case, is not merely a participator, but the principal, in the guilt; the maker of the bad law, or the legislator who neglects to make a good one, has better title than the convict to his place in the dock. But these are truths, which so far from being felt by those who make the laws, are not even understood by those for whom the laws are destined; if they were, they would not receive education as a tardily vouchsafed boon; they would stand up and demand it as a right, as an essential.

The public mind is not yet turned steadily and generally to such inquiries; the great mass of our people not only do not know what education really is, but do not feel that it is, or can be, made a blessing. Individuals, it is possible, feel these doctrines, and worship in secret, but their faith is not that of the world without. Some of our larger towns loath the chaff, and hunger after substantial food. Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Belfast, know that there *is* an education, believe in it, seek for it, but their efforts are confined to their own precincts—to their local daily experiment; they have slight interchange with each other; they work in parallel lines—the advance is zig-zag—the progress is provincial. We have no approach sufficiently determinate yet, notwithstanding the occasional intimations at public meetings, the echoes of the press, or the experiments, tried in many instances successfully in private, of a true commonwealth feeling on the subject. There are educations, but no national education. The government itself, in this particular, is behind the legislature, as the legislature is behind the people; and now and then opens its eyes, but it is merely to shut them again. They allow education and miseducation to fight it out, content with the very easy part of a spectator. In the meantime it is quite clear,

one or other must prevail. Under a plea of not impelling education, they virtually support miseducation. Parties fight *ad internecionem*, about rail-road or turnpike acts; and to this upon which all acts must depend, without whose life-giving spirit all acts are mere waste paper, to this, they are wisely and virtuously indifferent.

The grand apology for all this notorious negligence, is one and simple. "There is such difference of opinion upon the question, and it is so difficult to conciliate opinions."! Both of these allegations are doubtless true, and yet neither is the slightest argument for delay or indolence. The difference of opinions literally rises from this very delay, and the difficulty in reconciling them proceeds solely from our thinking them irreconcilable, from the want of communication, inquiry, and discussion. Let partisans approach each other, study and understand each other, and their partisanship in nine cases out of ten, will vanish. The grounds of opposition are not those which are put forward. The assumed grounds are easily scattered,—of the real they are ashamed. But true or false, they are not likely to be got rid of, by not being touched. Activity, sincerity, accuracy, and decision, are required, but even the slightest portion of such qualities, are surely likely to do more than absolute repose. When we come to examine the causes which retard the progress of national education in this country, in good faith, and with a frank and earnest desire to remove them, we shall be surprised to find them so little formidable. "Est leo in viâ," is the old excuse of the sluggard, but let him take the resolution of meeting it, and he will find the lion a sheep.

The cause of education has had in many cases to suffer almost as much from its friends as from its foes. There are three descriptions of antagonists with which it has to contend; the anti-educationists, the indifferents, and the educationists themselves. Each of these, with the reasoning and conduct of each, requires some remark.

The anti-educationists are a large and multifarious class; the parson and the peasant are to be found in the same ranks. The latter thinks it will interfere with his pounds, shillings, and pence, by abstracting children from their labour; the former imagines, it will upset the orders, dislocate society, overturn the Church, extinguish livings, and send Churchmen and their children to the byways and highways of beggary. One of our Tory cotemporaries heads a series of appalling prophecies on social disorganisation with "*The Schoolmaster*." He might as well head it with "*The Gospel*." True it is that crime has not yet ceased upon the earth, nor is it likely it ever will. We do not cherish the "fond imagining," that education, nor even christianity, will thoroughly eradicate it. "It is necessary that scandal cometh." Both coexist

with crime: crime advances in despite of both; but neither surely, without flagrant impiety, can be said to advance, or not to check, crime. The "*non causa pro causâ*" is the most common of all political sophisms. It is the "*cheval de bataille*" of those gentlemen. To make good such a proposition, it would have been requisite to have shown, first, that crime had really encreased, and secondly, that it had encreased in consequence of what might legitimately have been termed education. In both showings they have signally failed. There is not the augmentation they speak of: what does exist, arises not from the extension, but from the want or imperfection of education.

There have been two parties on this question, both in extremes. Dupin and Lucas maintained that the diminution of crime was in direct ratio with the diffusion of public instruction. They imagined that the improvement of intellectual culture of itself, was decidedly in favour of the improvement of public morals. They grounded this position on two observations; that in the northern provinces of France, where there was a greater degree of information, there was also a less degree of crime; and secondly, that the majority of French criminals knew not how to read or write. In 1829, half of those who appeared before the assizes, did not know how to read or write; 1-10th only had received a very imperfect education; and 1-76th only had really acquired any real degree of instruction. The error in this position, arises from too exclusive a consideration of intellectual education, and measuring its progress by the extension given to it in a mere material sense, without taking into account the spirit which presided over it, and the direction which it received. The labours of M. Balbi, and more recently of M. Guerry, have placed this in a more palpable point of view, and shewn that neither the number of schools or scholars, nor any degree of intellectual culture, is a sufficiently accurate scale by which to measure the state of national morality. In the department of the Marne, the proportion of scholars to population was as 1 to 10 inhabitants, and of criminals, as 1 to 6219. In the department of the Haute Loire, there is but 1 scholar to 268 inhabitants, and 1 criminal only to 26,000 inhabitants. The department of the Corrèze, has 1 scholar for every 128 inhabitants, and 1 murderer only in 427,000 inhabitants. In the department of the Haut Rhin, the number of children frequenting schools, is to the population as 1 to 13, and yet, there is 1 assassin to every 94,000 souls. Intellectual culture cannot then be said of itself to prevent crime. On the contrary, there are cases in which it may possibly tend to encourage it; but to say, as late writers have asserted, grounding it upon M. Guerry's work, that it "*greatly encreases it*," is equally erroneous. M. Guerry was not satisfied with Dupin's

calculations, or the basis on which they reposed; he thought, that something more specific than schools or scholars was required to determine the amount of instruction. He compared, not the number of scholars, but the number of readers and writers, with the number of accused, and drew conclusions not less unfavourable than those just mentioned, to the moral influence of intellectual culture. The criterion suggested by Guerry, has been applied, if possible, with less discrimination to our English and Scotch returns. In the report made to the Middlesex Magistrates by the Chaplain of Coldbath Fields prison, we have the very vague term education still adopted, but it is to be presumed, not meant to extend beyond reading or writing, or more probably reading. From this return, the deductions are also against "education." Out of 967 prisoners, the "uneducated" furnished only 104, the "educated" not less than 863, of which 265 had been imprisoned before. The Chaplain draws from this inquiry his conclusion, that it is not the want of "education," but the absence of principle (as if education and the inculcation of principle, were totally different matters) which lead to crime. The Glasgow Bridewell return is more specific, but still inadequate. Out of a total of 326 prisoners in the year, June 1834, June 1835, 131 could read and write, 143 read only, and 52 could do neither one nor the other. This preponderance of educated prisoners over uneducated, is still stronger in the male than in the female sex, and seems to augment in proportion as you ascend. There are 98 male prisoners who can read and write, and only 24 who cannot; a phenomenon, however, which may be accounted for on very different grounds from those stated. It is right, however, now to look to the other side of the question.

M. Ducpétiaux gives the following return, of the proportion of instructed to accused, (*état intellectuel des accusés*) during five successive years, from 1828 to 1832, in France.

Year.	Accused, whose degree of education could be ascertained.	Not knowing how to read or write.	Reading and writing imperfectly.	Reading and writing well.	Superior to the last degree.
1828,	6922	4166	1858	780	118
1829,	7369	4523	1947	729	170
1830,	6962	4319	1826	688	129
1831,	7604	4600	2047	767	190
1832,	7565	4540	2192	682	151

The returns annually published by the Minister of War, of the number of young men called to recruit the army, give, in 1828, 53 to 100, as the proportion of those who do not know how to read and write to those who do. In 1829, it was only 52 to 100.

It is now still less. Making every allowance for the exclusion of females from this last account, and their being included in the return above noticed, the result is highly favourable to education.

In the returns of the number of prisoners in the Bagnes of France, in 1830-1831, 3551 knew how to read, 6969 were totally without instruction.

An important article in criminal returns, is the tendency to the repetition of crime. The facts, in this particular, are also favourable to the influence of instruction.

Years.	Accused of a repetition of crime.	Not knowing how to read or write.	Reading and writing imperfectly.	Reading and writing well.	Superior to the last degree.
1828,	1182	730	327	116	9
1829,	1334	818	378	114	24
1830,	1370	870	357	125	18
1831,	1296	799	341	130	26
1832,	1429	857	422	131	19

Nor are these results confined to France. The data furnished by M. Luchlet and Lieber, prove that similar effects follow the same cause in France, Belgium, and America. They have been reduced to the following table in Mr. Gregg's report.

All kinds of Criminals.

Degree of Education.	France.	Belgium.	America.
None, -	610	610	256
Very imperfect,	266	150	551
Decent, -	103	200	180
Superior, -	21	40	13

Eighty-one per cent. of the crimes committed, thus appear to have been perpetrated by persons having received no education, or a very imperfect one; only 19 per cent. by those having the benefit of a decent, or a superior one.

These results will at least shew, that even with these imperfect data, and indistinct statements of the question to be determined, there are as strong presumptions in favour of the salutary influence, even of existing education, as against it. But the question deserves to be examined more narrowly.

It is asserted, in reference to the augmentation of population, that crime, in the gross, has augmented generally in Europe. There are, however, strong exceptions.

In Prussia, the Rhenish provinces included, the population increased, from 1817 to 1830, from 9,000,000 to 10,000,000. In 1817, the number of criminal and correctional offences were 10,936, in 1820, 27,488, and in 1830, 32,555.

In Denmark, 1 in 620 inhabitants was condemned to severe penalties in 1829, and 1 in 580 in 1830.

In France, however, and Belgium, crime has been nearly stationary. Crimes against the person have actually diminished. M. Guerry observes, that from 1825 to 1830 included, the greatest variation in crimes against the person each year, has not exceeded 0.25 of their number; and that the maximum at the same time, of crimes against property, has been reduced to 1-50th. In Belgium, in 1826, the former class of crimes might be represented by 188 to 1000 inhabitants; in 1830, they were 160 to 1000; crimes against property in 1826, were 190, and in 1827, 205; and in 1830, the same number. In the interval, the population had considerably augmented.

In the Austrian States, Hungary not included, crime has considerably diminished. In 1819, there was a total of 10,709, in 1822, of 10,440, and in 1823, 8,765. This is the more remarkable, as, during a portion of that time, crime had greatly increased in numbers and atrocity in some parts of the Austrian dominions. In Dalmatia, in 1810, there were 828 criminals to 318,000 inhabitants; in 1823, there were 1523; at a still later period, there was 1 criminal to every 206. Nor were these crimes of a light complexion; for, in the return just referred to, there were 179 murders, 200 burnings (premeditated), and 304 serious acts of violence and assault. Austria, within these last twenty years, has made great and successful efforts for education. Dalmatia is, perhaps, the most ignorant portion of her whole state.

In England, crimes have continued to encrease, especially those against property.

This disproportion is strongly illustrated by a comparison with other countries.—Taking 100 brought to trial—

Country.	Against the Person.	Against Property.
In England,	4	96
In France, (crimes)	27	73
In Belgium, (idem)	26	74

The same result is still more striking in comparison with Ireland.

From 1826 to 1832, the number of offences has been nearly stationary in Ireland, whilst in England it has been on the encrease; but the contrast between the number of criminals is remarkable. There has been 1 person brought to trial for every 484 inhabitants in Ireland, and only 1 for 733 in England, in the period from 1827 to 1833. The character of crime is not more strongly contrasted. Crimes against the person are nine times more numerous in Ireland than in England, whilst crimes against property are three time more numerous in England than in Ireland.

The proportion between crimes against the person, to crimes against property, in England, is as 1 to 25, and in Ireland as 0.86 to 1. It is also to be remarked, that crimes, especially against property, are considerably more frequent in the manufacturing than in the agricultural districts throughout England and Scotland, and have increased in almost direct proportion to the commercial prosperity of the town. This, indeed, may be extended generally to England,—the proportion of such increase, to that of crimes against the person, from 1810 to 1812, was as 1 to 16, from 1827 to 1833, as 1 to 25.*

The progress, then, of crime, seems to be totally independent of the extension of education. It has arisen from circumstances co-existing with that extension. Amongst them, in England may be reckoned the diffusion of her manufacturing and commercial speculations, tending strongly to produce a greater necessity and desire for acquisition; in Ireland, the state of political effervescence and agitation in which she has been so long placed. It is in the very nature of luxury to produce inequality, and inequality to produce offenders against property. Another peculiarity in this class of offences, is the difficulty with which they are eradicated. The proportion of repetitions (*recidives*) of crimes against the person, is as 13 to 100 of those already committed; of crimes against property, as 80 to 100. These new offences, by the same persons, go to augment the sum total, but can scarcely be considered as indicative of a generally increasing and extending immorality. It is a characteristic of a peculiar state of society, arising from want,—for rich countries may be indigent, and poor countries comfortable; and it would be a great mistake to draw from thence conclusions, either against poverty or riches. It is the fair distribution of wealth and justice in a country, which chiefly tends to the diminution of crimes against property or person. Where these conditions are obviously wanting, it would be unfair to charge the consequences of such defect upon any other cause, less adequate to produce it.

In addition to these real principles of evil, there are other causes which have tended to swell in appearance the catalogue of crimes. A greater number have, if we may use the expression, been brought to charge. More vigilance in the Police, more decision in the

* The very circumstance of condensation, or increase of relative population, in any given place, has also its influence. The very curious results detailed in Baron Dupin's paper at the late meeting of the British Association, go far to establish, on this question, laws, in accord with the conclusions drawn from the other data noticed in the text. At the same time there is a maximum, beyond which the powers to produce these effects, in some degree diminishes.

Juries, a milder code of penal law, have materially added to the committals and convictions for minor offences; and, mark, not an augmentation of immorality, but rather of morality, in the country. This result is very conspicuous, in comparing the returns of England and Ireland. In 100 individuals, brought to trial in 7 years, from 1826 to 1832 included, in England and Ireland, the proportions have been—

		England.	Ireland.
Not prosecuted,	-	10	24
Acquitted,	-	19	16
Convicted,	-	71	60

Thus shewing that the efficiency of the law is considerably greater in England.*

But were it quite possible to trace these consequences to the spread of education, the anti-educationist is bound not to stop here. He should distinctly shew the proportion of education to population, before he attempted to establish its proportion to crime. It is not pretended that it will extirpate, though it may check, evil tendencies; and if the great mass of a country is instructed, it is quite obvious, even with a small amount of crime, that the number of educated criminals must necessarily preponderate over those who are uneducated. This is strongly illustrated in the Glasgow Bridewell return. The total of Scotch prisoners (male) is 236, of Irish 66; the readers and writers amongst the first amount to 76, the readers only to 36, and the wholly ignorant to 9; the readers and writers among the Irish are 9, the readers only, are 25, and the wholly ignorant are 12. Did we not take into consideration the far more general diffusion of reading and writing amongst the Scotch than amongst the low Irish inhabitants of Glasgow, a conclusion, directly the reverse of the truth, would necessarily be come to. It would be supposed that Scotch education was favourable to vice, and Irish ignorance to virtue.

Nor is it fair to compare an intermediate state of knowledge and instruction, whose results, it is obvious, have not yet been developed with a state of crime, which, in great measure, is the result of a former condition of society. If instruction and its absence are to be compared,—if it is broadly to be maintained, that so far from repressing crime, instruction tends greatly to encrease it,—we see no reason why the educationist should not require on his side to go into the whole of the argument. If non-instruction be a benefit, so is ignorance, and he may fairly demand to test it by its results. The railer against the incomplete character of the bless-

* At the same time, we must not forget that committals on light or insufficient grounds, are much more frequent in Ireland, than in Scotland.

ings of instruction, should be compelled to compare instruction and ignorance, face to face. They who murmur against present men, ought to cast their eyes back upon those who preceded them. The "trois jours" may fairly stand beside the first outbreak of the French Revolution. The petitions against tithes, against the insurrections of the White Boys, the Catholic Associators against the rioters of Lord George Gordon. The farther back we go, the triumphs of ignorance ought to be more remarkable; and so in truth they are. Would the writer in Blackwood advise the restoration of Scotland, to the "organization" of the days of Fletcher of Saltoun? Would he recommend a renewal of the good uninstructed times, which led to the Irish civil wars of 1641? Would he think the English yeomen more secure in life and property, were the ignorance and vagabondage, which the gibbet and sword were both unequal to suppress, again to overrun this land, as in the time of Henry VII.? If we are to have philippics against instruction, and encomiums on ignorance, let us have them frank and full. It is too ridiculous to take the part for the whole; and because virtue was not quite extinguished by ignorance, and is not quite rescued from the obstacles which throng around her, by instruction—to conclude, that ignorance is the mother of virtue, and vice the daughter of instruction.

But the real fact is, that the anti-educationists do not well know what education is. If every word they uttered were true, it would not prove one jot against education. Education is not instruction, any more than it is books, boards, or schoolrooms. Instruction, as well as gymnastics, is only a branch of education, and it would be just as great a folly to expect regeneration from one alone, as from the other. Education is literally "bringing up"—but not one section or fraction of the triple man, but the whole—physical, intellectual, moral—the body, the intelligence, the spirit. Leave out any one portion, and you at once overturn the balance, and produce a mass of distortion—a monster. Educate the body at the expense of the intellectual and moral being, and you produce a brute lump of animated clay. Educate the intelligence at the expense of the moral and religious feelings, and you give power without virtue to wield it. Educate the moral only, and you leave virtue without her noblest ally,—religion, without understanding, becomes fanaticism. Now, the very "education" of which they complain, is one or other of these *ex parte* educations, and it is only marvellous that it has not produced more evil and less good than it has done. When we speak of education, it is not of this abuse that we speak. We look for something better than Dame-schools, where children learn just

enough to make them dislike learning; or parochial schools, where Cato's soliloquy, or Hamlet's speech to the ghost, is the great criterion of their useless accomplishments; or commercial schools, where cyphering and bookkeeping form the great ethical preparation for after-life:—

“Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
Discunt in partes centum deducere”—

still less do we venerate the wasted hours and inapplicable Latin of our grammar establishments. We look for education, and not schooling; and when we speak of blessings and regeneration, we speak of the blessings, not of schooling, but, of education.

To judge then effectively and impartially of the two results of education, it will not suffice, with a Tory magazine, to sum up scholars; nor to confound, with a gaol chaplain, absence of principle with the existence of education. We must take the thing itself, and see how and on whom it works. This cannot be done in mass, because it is not yet so diffused as to work in masses, but we can observe it in detail. If such a process produce good, and such another evil, in its own immediate circle, there is surely no reason why its extension through the whole country should not proportionately influence the whole. Let us compare an instant our old existing systems with the exceptions to those systems; what is, with what is called, education.

Manchester is supposed to be one of the best-educated towns in the empire. It deserves its fame, though Von Raumer, and still more the Report of its own Statistical Society, have very materially detracted from such honours. The old system there, as elsewhere, is strikingly illustrated by a passage in the Report. The Committee met with two instances of schools, kept by masters of some abilities, but much given to drinking, who, however, had gained such a reputation in the neighbourhood, that, after spending a week or fortnight in this pastime, they could always fill their schoolrooms again, as soon as they returned to their post. The children, during the absence of the masters, went to other schools for the week, or played in the streets, or were employed by their parents in running errands. On another occasion, one of these instructors, and guardians of the morals of our youth, was met issuing from his schoolroom, at the head of his scholars, to see a *fight* in the neighbourhood: instead of stopping to reply to any educational queries, he only uttered a breathless invitation to come along “and see the sport.” Another of these scenes of education is thus described:—it contained 130 pupils, during the lessons the confusion was so great, that all queries to the schoolmaster were totally inaudible. After various attempts, with menace and entreaty, to obtain silence, “the master gave up the point, say-

ing, as he descended from the desk,—‘you see the brutes, there is no managing them.’”

The Digest of the returns of 1818 abound with instances of similar mismanagement. “Dames” are numerous, for the most part, like that sagacious old matron, noticed by Miss Hamilton, who was accustomed to read Nazareth for Nebuchodonosor; broken down soldiers, and other superannuated servants, fit, like the schoolmaster at Walbach, for no other situation, are met with in many a page, setting up their schools for the moral and intellectual education of the rising generation.* Professor Pillans gives a scarcely more favourable account of Scotch parish schoolmasters. They adhere, with few exceptions, to the old miseducating code. In Ireland the case was still worse. It was there oppression and ignorance combined. The Charter-school system, a system from which Protestantism was to be supplied with fresh blood,—a system which, though exposed by Howard, still blinded Wakefield, and contrived to maintain its position, under the wide wings of the Church established,—was notorious for all the cruelties, and all the follies, of which a proselytising instrument, on so large a scale, may be supposed to be composed. The atrocities committed in those schools, under the hallowed names of religion and education, are now familiar to all readers. Children made menials of by their masters, as they truly were, and not their teachers; scourged, not for the correction of moral offences, but through the caprice of drunken tyrants, to break the child into more complete

* To form some judgment of these Dame schools, let the reader turn to the Manchester, Salford, Bury, and Liverpool Reports of the Manchester Statistical Society. The Salford Report says, “Four of these schools were of a superior character, containing children of a higher class than it is usual to find in them; but of the rest, two were kept in cellars, twenty very crowded, and eleven very close; some being also damp; in two schools, many of the children were asleep; about thirteen schools were very dirty, and as many disorderly, and only nineteen were found decent and orderly.” “One mistress stated, that she had expended no less than 10s. in the purchase of books, only three years ago, but that they were now lost, or so dirty and torn, as to be utterly useless. In three schools there were no books at all; in another mere remnants; in other nineteen schools, the supply was wretched, *five only, out of the whole number of sixty-five, appearing to be tolerably well provided.*” p. 7. “The generality of the teachers are wholly incompetent to the task of instruction, and their ignorance on the most common topics is lamentable.”—“Of the whole number of 1,548 children in these schools, barely one-third can be said to learn anything.” p. 8. “Yet some of these schools are superior to any of the same class in the borough of Manchester,” p. 7. And the late Report of the state of the Liverpool schools, shows the Manchester schools to be still superior to them. “As to morals, the teachers seem perfectly unconscious of their having anything to say to education; they scarcely understand the meaning of the word.”

The common, or Parochial Schools, are not much better. “One of the masters was found shutting the shutters, and turning his wife out of doors, in order to adjourn to, and establish himself in the neighbouring beer shop.” The Committee may, therefore, remark, with like justice, “that these schools are, for the most part, nearly inefficient for any purposes of real education.” p. 11.—*Salford Report.*

bondage—money lavished, and religion, charity, and knowledge extinguished, such were some of the admired vices of these pious seminaries. The persecution has gradually dwindled away, and is now, we trust, finally got rid of, but the incompetency, in many instances, still remains behind. The Kildare Place training was a mere yeomanry drill. It got very little into the spirit of the child; it was designed to keep numbers in order, rather than to teach one well. The new Board have not yet been able to effect what they have long professed an anxiety to do—the educating an adequate number of teachers. Thus, instruction is feebly carried on, and education, in many cases, not at all. If no abundant harvest of good has followed such a system, it is assuredly a matter of no surprise. The fault lies not with the object in view, but the instruments by which it is attempted to accomplish it.

We now turn to what education really is, and what are the blessed effects of real education. The reforms worked out by Pestalozzi at Yverdun, and followed up with such signal success by De Fellenberg, at Hofwyl and Maykirch; the sudden regeneration produced at Freyburg by the Père Girard, and the complete civilisation of the inhabitants of the Ban de Roche by Oberlin,—are not more remarkable or satisfactory, than illustrations of the operation of similar systems in our own country. The wonderful change already wrought by Wilderspin in infant education, and to which the Edinburgh Report bears such ample evidence; the ameliorations brought about in the elementary and higher branches of education, in the Sessional School of Edinburgh, by Mr. Wood; the improved character of female instruction, produced by the College for young ladies, in the same capital,—are all samples of what, under proper direction, with wise views, and diligent hands, education may be made. It may now be asked, what are their results. Hear Mr. Wood.

“Of the changes which their education and *new habits* have operated upon the character of our pupils, while within the walls of the seminary, we have ourselves witnessed many very pleasing instances. Many who entered it, and that not at the very earliest stage of life, quite ignorant and regardless of religion, have there become deeply interested in its important truths, and, to all appearance at least, strongly impressed with a sense of the moral obligations which it imposes. Some who were originally addicted to lying, and to every species of meanness, and were on that account shunned by their companions, have, under the influence of the religious and moral discipline of this institution, and of that high tone of right feeling and sense of honour which it imposes, been altered into beings of apparently quite a different stamp. In nothing, however, has such an amendment been more conspicuous, than with regard to

temper. Often has it been my delight to behold sullenness and discontent converted into gratitude and satisfaction; and even to hear from the lips of the pupils themselves, acknowledgments that their parents at home have remarked a striking change upon their temper, from the period of their entering our institution."—*Wood's Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School*, p. 300.

One of the apprehensions of the anti-educationists is, that education will produce discontent, turbulence, jealousy, and strife; will disturb the gradation of the orders, indispose to patient industry, unsettle the national mind, and finally lead to revolution. What was the result of the education of Mr. Wood?

"It is quite needless to theorize upon the subject. We are daily sending out from the Sessional School multitudes of shoemakers and tailors, infected with its most dangerous poison, and are daily receiving the most gratifying assurances from their masters, of the manner in which they conduct themselves. *The industry and skill in their various occupations, is in direct proportion to their success at school*; and those who have been fortunate enough to get our best scholars, have been known to enquire whether we have any others of the like description to give them. Our greatest proficient is still content to dwell 'among their own people,' and to 'follow the occupations of their fathers.'"

They were in many instances requested "to follow the profession of teaching," but

"This request, though strongly urged, has on more than one occasion been declined by the boys themselves, who preferred entering into ordinary, mechanical occupations. Still, however, this fondness for their original studies remained. Some of them requested permission from their friends to continue at the evening school; while others, who were patterns of diligence in the workshop, employed their vacant hours at home in useful reading."—p. 308.

Such were the evils of education. But we proceed a little farther.

"On this subject, it gives us peculiar satisfaction to add, that all who have been so honoured have been not less distinguished for their attention, steadiness, ability, and zeal, in the discharge of the duties of their respective callings, which has been most satisfactorily established by very ample certificates from their masters, produced by the author, at his request."—*Idem*.

But these results, it may be thought, are to be looked for only from very favourable circumstances, acting on well-prepared physical and moral organisations. We will take another case, presenting none of these advantages, and yet exhibiting, in its effects, a still more striking evidence of the potency of good education. The Hackney-Wick School was established by the benevolent Captain Brenton about five years ago, and the Victoria

Asylum at Chiswick somewhat later, for the reform of young criminals. These are schools, as their very title intimates, not selecting from the *élite* of our population, not taking up an education already well commenced, not aided by the best of all allies, the kindly domestic affections in the pupil's own heart,—but institutions dealing only with all that is perverted, and contaminated, and abandoned in childhood; stretching out its arms to the deserted orphan, in the streets of a luxurious capital; and to the young convict, in the contagion and vices of our ill-disciplined prisons: venturing, in fact, the great experiment on the most intractable of all natures; and not merely attempting to bring into operation a good education, but to destroy, root and branch, a bad one. This, to some, may appear a generous, but hopeless project; more creditable to the benevolence than to the understanding of its founders. If effected, doubtless they must admit that it places the efficiency of education really such beyond all controversy. No opponent to education can venture to impugn a system which out of death could thus draw life, and thus clothe corruption with incorruptibility. No sceptic can continue to doubt the all-powerful effects of such an instrument on a yet unstained population, if upon sin and crime, upon the worst of habits ingrained into the very nature of the being, it works such sudden and entire revolution. But we again repeat, few will believe in such an efficacy. To such, we have only one answer to give: “come and see.” The system has been tried for the long period of five years, and has thoroughly and perfectly succeeded. To judge, however, more accurately of this success, we must contrast for a moment the child before and after education.

The description of children received in the Hackney-Wick and Victoria Asylums are thus classed, in a highly interesting little account of the methods and progress of these institutions.*

“*First class*, boys of respectable parents, who are reduced in circumstances, and orphans of ditto. *Second class*, boys neglected and deserted by their parents, who have gained a living in the streets. *Third class*, boys from workhouses, who possessing an unsettled or enterprising spirit, have volunteered to emigrate. *Fourth class*, boys from the Houses of Correction, who, upon shewing signs of penitence, have excited the sympathy of some persons, and these have exerted them-

* *Practical Remarks upon the Education of the Working Classes, with an Account of the plan pursued, &c. &c. at the Brenton Asylum, Hackney-Wick, 1835*, by Charles Forss, agricultural teacher and second master of that institution. Charles Forss, as the preface states, was educated as a simple agriculturalist and carpenter in Dorsetshire, and left his native county for the purpose only of undertaking the situation he at present holds at Hackney-Wick.

selves to get them admitted into our Asylum, on the expiration of their imprisonment."

Each of these classes present peculiar difficulties, illustrative of similar obstacles, (but at their very highest degree,) in the great masses of the community. Each have yielded to the "true education" system of the institution. After observing, that whilst the industrious in the first class are easily managed, the writer continues:

"Those who have been bred up in idleness and extravagance, and who have their heads filled with notions that were never likely to be realised, are the most useless animals in existence. They are dissatisfied with the accommodations, and always hankering after sweet-meats, fruits, &c. &c. Work is at first out of the question with them; *they cannot think of disgracing themselves by digging.* Some are so idle, *that they will not even wash themselves.* Now it takes some time before a boy of this description can be brought to believe, that the only way to be happy is to be industrious; but I rejoice in being able to say, that in many instances reformation has been produced, and *boys seemingly hopeless on their admission,* have left us with a *good character, and are going on well in the situations that have been provided for them.*"—p. 25.

"The second class boys have claimed my particular observation; in nine cases out of ten, they are active, intelligent, and useful, if young; but when of the age of sixteen or seventeen, I find them so *confirmed in cunning and bad habits,* that it is difficult to be of any use to them: yet were I to take boys from the Asylum into my own service, I should give the preference to the younger boys of this second class, before those of the other three classes; for although care and labour are required to train them, yet they possess a quick sense of kindness, with an activity that amply repays any trouble taken with them."

("N.B. The Matron of the female school has given the same opinion, even as respects *girls.*"—*Editor.*) p. 26.

"Third class, or those from workhouses. Of this class I scarcely know how to give an opinion; but from what I have observed, I am led to conclude that the character of a boy chiefly depends on the *mode of management* pursued in the particular house from which he comes. In some workhouses, there is a class of paupers who have been hanging about them for two or three generations, and who are *so entirely void of any sense of independence, that to be idle is the height of their ambition.* The boys having access and intercourse with adults of this description, is a serious evil; where this is allowed, I find them tutored in every description of *cunning and deceit, dishonesty, lying, and idleness.* In those workhouses where the boys are allowed no access to adults, their character is better. The boys from the former are quite *broken-spirited,* and so *much hardened by beating,* than nothing *but coercion* seems to make any impression upon them. From the latter they possess an open countenance, and they are more cheerful and obedient."—p. 27.

It may easily be imagined that the fourth class presents the greatest impediments. They are indeed serious.*

"The boys in the fourth class are generally gone too far in crime, to be reformed very rapidly. *The connexions they have made during the time of imprisonment have so contaminated their minds, that their countenances alone betray them to a practised observer. Their propensity to cheating, thieving, gambling, and all dishonest practices, exceeds belief*; yet the only hope of reforming them is by *kind treatment, good examples, and keeping them out of the way of temptation.*"—p. 28.

But now for the results. Whatever the Manchester schoolmaster might expect—"these brutes have been managed."

"The lasting influence of our discipline is apparent in the character of those who have been provided with situations, all of whom, (six hundred have passed through the Asylums) with very few exceptions, are doing well, and give satisfaction to their employers; indeed, the success of this institution has far exceeded my most sanguine expectations."—p. 15.

This will appear still more striking, on descending to particulars. We take, with reference to the girls, the evidence of Mrs. Rebecca Boushill, head of the Asylum at Chiswick, before the Select Committee on Gaols, in the House of Lords.

Q. "Are any of them children who have been brought up ill, and engaged in criminal habits?"

A. "Yes; the majority are of that description."

* To appreciate fully the obstacles interposed to reform by prison "discipline," as it is termed, we ought to know what it is. The late Reports of the Inspectors offer abundant materials. They represent the majority of our gaols as schools of every vice; and there are few who enter them at an early age, but are recommitted. In the Westminster Bridewell, it appears that of 215 boys of sixteen years of age and under, committed to that prison, between Midsummer and Christmas, 1834, not less than 62 were *recommitted*; of whom 31 had been once before, 7 twice, 12 three times, and 22 repeatedly in imprisonment. Of 174 committed to Bridewell Hospital, 100 had been in before; of 511 boys to Clerkenwell, in 1835, 302 before, &c. The cause of this lies in the state of the prisons. All classes of crime are mixed together. Cards, obscene books, dice, replace the Bible; gaming of all kinds, especially the lowest, employ their idle hours. There is a school; but the schoolmaster is a convict, and with the mind of one. Prostitutes frequent the cells, under the name of sisters: the utmost licence in language and manners prevails.

Before trial, the prisoners are taken to the bail-dock; sometimes as many as sixty or seventy together. There, for hours and days together, they are mixed up with the most horrid characters, like wild beasts in a den. They conduct themselves "as if they were going rather to a fair than a trial." After locking up, "there would be some," say the prisoners themselves, "gambling at one end of the tables; others would be sitting around the fire, singing, and smoking, and talking all kinds of beastly talk, and of their crimes," &c. If there be a few quiet ones amongst them, the others are all down upon them; and if they complain to the Governor or Turnkey, "they are afraid of their lives at night, after locking up."

From such sinks of iniquity came many of the pupils mentioned in the text; against such education had the education of Hackney-Wick to contend. Yet the men who rail against education, praise gaols!

Q. "Do you think that your system reforms them?"

A. "Yes; we had one girl from St. Saviour's workhouse, who was *very vicious*; she *bit a piece out of one of her companion's shoulders, just after she came*; she was then a *very bad girl, a thief, and much given to falsehood*. She turned out so *particularly well*, that I petitioned the Ladies' Committees to leave her longer, *as an example to the others*; but it was thought advisable to send her to the Cape. She was with us *seven months*."

Q. "Do you ever take them from the gaols, after they have undergone their sentences?"

A. "We are always ready to receive such; but it is difficult to say how many we have had, because the fact is not willingly mentioned by them. We have now four from Tothill Fields under those circumstances, who all give promise of doing well."

The evidence of Mr. Charles Forss, whose report we have already quoted, is not less striking.

Q. "Have you any boys now under your charge, that have been in prison?"

A. "We have several."

Q. "Can you state the offences which they had committed?"

A. "I do not know their offences; two, who had been sent by the Lord Mayor from the Mansion House, had been in prison before."

Q. "Have you reformed any of those that have been sent to you from the prisons?"

A. "Yes, several; we have had several who have been in Newgate, and some in Brixton House of Correction. They have gone out with good characters."

The history of some of these children is highly illustrative.

"James Mayo" (we still quote Mr. Charles Forss) "was admitted to the Asylum the first week in January, 1834. He had been wandering about the streets of London for six months before; he stated himself to be sixteen years of age."

He was at first very refractory, refused to work at the order of the master. He was placed in solitary confinement. After four hours, he begged to be liberated.

"I took him out, and spoke to him in a manner that appeared to make some impression. The next day he went cheerfully to his work, and upon one of the boys shewing some inclination to disobedience, I overheard him advise him to mind what he was about, as it would not do to be stubborn here. From that moment, Mayo was industrious, civil, and obedient; so much so, that on the 23rd he was appointed general monitor, and continued in that situation up to the 14th of March, when he embarked for Cape Town, with twenty boys under his care. His general character was firm and determined, with a strong sense of justice; and I believe he left the Asylum with deep feelings of gratitude, at the age of seventeen."—p. 46.

The late reports are still more strongly confirmatory of these thorough reforms. Amongst the many instances quoted, three or four may be selected.

"John Ellis, aged fifteen, the son of indulgent parents, had been very bad, and in prison. On his first entering the Asylum, he robbed the matron of several articles. As he continued, he greatly improved. He is now at the Cape of Good Hope, and doing extremely well.

"Benjamin Welling, aged fourteen, had been in prison several times; his character very bad,—behaved ill on entering. Greatly improved; at last, conducted himself in the most satisfactory manner. Is now at the Cape, an excellent member of society.

"Thomas Honor, aged fifteen, several times in prison; of an exceedingly bad character,—conducted himself ill on entering. Rapidly improved; and is now at the Cape, apprenticed out with every prospect of success."

Hundreds of similar instances might be given, but these are sufficient to shew the operation of the system on the worst subjects and under the worst circumstances. To many, such effects will appear little less than miraculous. But there is no miracle in the case; they flow naturally from the cause. They are the obvious and inevitable results of *true education*.

Manual labour and moral training, are the two great principles. They give an impulse to industrious habits, which is not easily given without them. "I have known," says Mr. Forss, "instances of boys that have been six or seven years at certain schools, and have come out of them every thing that was bad, who, after the short space of six months passed in our asylum, have gone abroad with a good character, and have proved a credit both to themselves and their masters." They read, write, spell, as in other schools; but work, either in the field or within doors, is their great instruction. In turns each boy performs the different offices incidental to the establishment, such as cook, mate, porter, errandboy, &c. Each day is opened and closed by prayer and religious instruction. "In this institution, the boys," says Mr. Forss, "are taught to do every thing themselves, with the strictest economy; they grow their own vegetables, cook their own food, wash and mend their own clothes, and do in fact all the work that is required on the premises—bricklaying, plastering, carpenter's work, &c. &c. The master often tells them they must try to better their condition by industry, and make themselves useful to society by employing their time in honest labour, that they must never tell a falsehood, or use bad words. The good result is far beyond what could have been expected: although fresh boys are continually admitted, yet it is very rare to hear of a bad word being used. If a poor neglected boy should

so forget himself, his companions will instantly report him to the master."—p. 23.

They are not, however, deprived of intellectual advantages. There is daily practice, besides the studies above noticed, in mental arithmetic, and several weekly lectures in the outlines of geography, geometry, astronomy, and on agriculture, manufactures, &c. &c. They have, also, a very well-selected school library.

The girls' school is managed in a similar manner. We extract from Mrs. Boushill's evidence:—

"The principal objects of the society are to reform criminal children; to educate and train them, when neglected and destitute, in the principles of religion and morality, and to make them good domestic servants. For this last purpose their work is changed each week. We appoint the whole of them to different employments every Monday morning; we put two into the largest bed-room, two into the second, and so on. Those girls who are chambermaids this week, we make kitchen maids the next week; the next week we put them into the laundry, and afterwards they will go to the dairy; so that they have an opportunity of learning the different branches of domestic work. A great part of the morning is employed in domestic affairs, and all are in school in the afternoon, except those detained in the work of the house. We have fifty-five in the asylum just now, and have but one servant. The children make clothes for themselves, and wash for themselves," &c. &c.

It may be imagined that to obtain this admirable and useful discipline, amongst children originally so perverted, the strongest coercive means are requisite. Quite the contrary. The only instruments are kindness, patience, attention, and order, but they are all-powerful:—

"I think every one who knows how our boys are managed," says Mr. Forss, "will say that they *have not seen better discipline in any of the schools on the old thrashing system*, yet I can conscientiously say, *I have not known a single instance in our school of a boy receiving a blow from his masters*. In extreme cases of wilful error, solitary confinement for a few hours has been the most severe punishment resorted to, and it has hardly ever failed of success. When a boy does wrong, if the fault is observed by or known to the master, he takes him privately aside, and reproves and admonishes, as the case requires. If the fault be committed publicly, then he is publicly exposed in presence of all the boys, but they are forbid to mention his fault to him afterwards, and it is quite rare for one boy to taunt another with his offence. When a boy is put in solitary confinement, he is frequently visited by the master, who tells him he is placed alone that he may have an opportunity of reflecting on his past conduct, and as soon as he shews the smallest sign of contrition, he is kindly advised and liberated; to keep him longer would only serve to harden him."—p. 14.

The same discipline is applied to the girls' school:—

"I am quite confident," says Mrs. Boushill, "that the mode of discipline the ladies have adopted, is the best for softening the heart, and doing good to the children;—we have no punishment but solitary confinement for short periods, and lessening of food. The frequent visits and admonitions of the ladies have an excellent effect."—*Evidence, &c.*

To this may be added, the children are classed according to their moral character, and not according to their acquirements; they are under the constant inspection of their monitors and teachers; the teachers are well chosen, and well disciplined themselves; and the religious precept, communicated without violence, but with attention, and in a manner adapted to the understanding of the pupil, is enforced less by phrases than by example.

It is surely needless to add another word. Here is education, here are its results. Here is bodily suppleness and vigour, here is intelligence, here is virtue, hand in hand. Labour and reflection, habits as well as lessons, a thorough conviction on the part of the pupils, that they are objects of solicitude and affection to all around them; new circumstances, new ideas, and new characters, a wholesome public opinion operating in the school itself—this is the magic which out of this mass of contagion restores once more to its purity and energy the young spirit, and performs the most beautiful of all wonders, renovates the heart and head, and creates, in some measure, over again a human soul. But if one school produces such consequences, and in such a capital as London, why not, we ask in all humility, should not a second school produce the same; if two, why not three, why not twenty, why not hundreds, why not the country? No circumstances more antagonist than these, can in any instance be found, no success more certain and satisfactory. Would the most violent opponent to education regret to see such reform widely and deeply spread amongst our manufacturing and agricultural populations? Why then contend against the instrument by which such reforms are to be effected? Why desire a consequence, and oppose the cause? Why wish for popular virtue, and still stand up against popular education?

The fact is, the opposition of the anti-educationist is an opposition to he knows not what. If it be directed against education, we shew him what education is capable of effecting; if it be directed against bad education, he ought with us to attack the bad, but, not stopping there, endeavour also to procure the better. Were the Hackney-Wick and Victoria Asylum systems general throughout the land, he surely could not imagine that our criminal returns would give the same data which they now give.

If he desire it, what should be his course,—should he resist or encourage such education?

We do not deny, that the greater portion of our schools are of a far different description, but we cannot discover any reason why they should continue so. The great vices of our existing system are manifest—we trust also they are not invincible. We do not begin sufficiently early—what we teach is generally useless—if we teach, we do not teach long enough. We have abundance of mis-education, and our education is too short as well as too slight. The child is not taken up in time; it is not the child of nature or of God that we have to deal with, but the child of man. On the plea that the infant mind is not susceptible of education, we allow the infant to mis-educate itself. We take it soiled and profaned, rather than in the original brightness of its angelic nature. We prefer to work a miracle, rather than to follow out the work of God. We consider children, as if they were always to continue children; but those same children whom we so triflingly treat, form the materials of the future state. Out of those groups of prattlers are yet to come forth constitutions, perhaps revolutions; in all cases the destinies of yet unborn millions of men. We complain of the tendency of the present age to innovation, we look upon the entire species as in a state of constant hunger and thirst after anarchy. If this be the public will, we doubt not it will easily find the opportunity and power to gratify it. The only sure course is to alter that which may guide the will. The will of man is not sufficiently educated at present. It is the result of ideas, thoughts, passions, fixed into habits—these habits we neglect to fix. We send the child into action with no will, or a bad will; we do not create in him a strong will, and a just will. It is an absurd complaint that with such a lever we can raise nothing. It is an unjust complaint against the creature we have mis-fashioned, and against the education which we did not use. If there be disturbance in the social machine, it is because we knew not how before it was put together to shape our machinery. We carry no forethought, we see no future: we dwell within “the body of this death” of present things. No wonder that vice should be born from such teaching—that ignorance, and not knowledge, should follow.

Another cause of the inefficiency of our education, is, with few exceptions, its inapplicability. We have seen how amply this defect has been remedied at Hackney-Wick; nothing is there done but with a reference to the future position of the pupil. Not so with us. The majority of our systems are absolutely aimless: take them at what grade we may, our schools spend their energies on objects of quite secondary importance to the pupil,

while they omit principals. We look to the Universities for our future statesmen. How much of state knowledge, in the shape of the moral or political sciences, is communicated there? Is history, are the laws of our own or other countries, is social economy, is constitutional instruction, the great components of their course? The classics and the mathematics divide the empire of the young student's mind; they send him into the world informed but not educated, fitted only for one state, and a state, too, which is rapidly passing away. There was a time when a sermon would not be listened to unless slashed and furbelowed with Latin quotations, which no one understood. A flock would not move for any one less than a "Latiner." The Houses of our Legislature exacted a similar tribute. A tag of classicality was the Shibboleth of the "set." In no other form could a rising young man make his first debutant bow to the public, than in a verse from Horace or Virgil. The country gentlemen revered afar off, and listened to avoid scandal. But these fooleries are dying. Men have the pressure of stirring times, and an earnest and intelligent population about them; they must look to something more real than these puerile elegancies. A mere measurer of trochaics and anapaests is not precisely the man to reset the disjointed state. Not that we at all undervalue classical studies,—far from it; we venerate them, we cherish them. We agree with Schwartz, that, next to the Scriptures, the study of the great models of Greek antiquity is of all others the most calculated to raise and ennoble the mind. We believe that its lessons pass from the memory into the understanding, and from thence into the character and conduct of man; we believe that, rightly worshipped, in no narrow and pitiful scholastic sense, it will raise us into something of that "ideal" which was the aspiration of the great of all times, and which cannot be too much encouraged as a defence against the Mammonite philosophy of the present. But this is a study not to be taught from a "*Gradus ad Parnassum*,"—it is a spirit not vouchsafed with a Bachelorship of Arts. It is not with Latin or Greek it will stop. It will fly for congenial food to the great spirits of our own tongue. It will read the ancients in the moderns. Bacon, and Milton, and Locke, and Taylor, and Hooker, these will also be its classics, out of such study of Greek and Latin will also grow an English mind. But is this the character, the tendency of our actual classical instruction? Is it not content with the husks of learning? does it not glory in the masks and manacles of words? How few who do not admire the frame rather than the picture, and adore the veil instead of the sanctuary. Even as linguists they are poor; for ever on a treadmill they never advance. Our best commentators are

German, our best Latin writers have studied abroad. Is it worth spending the best hours of life to do such trifles so extremely ill? Such men are not educated to raise the mind or character of any nation. In the world, as in the college, they live a life of shadows and phrases. We want legislation, and not pedantry: rulers, and not academicians.

The existence of our middle classes is essentially practical—"real"—as the Germans would term it; so also ought to be their education. It is anything but that. If low, it ends with reading, writing, and cyphering, and keeping accounts; that is with the key, but nothing else. If high, it is a grammar school,—latin, and latin, and nothing more. But a head manufacturer may not read twenty words of that language all his life, it lies in his mind as lumber; it not only fills but oppresses; he spends time and labour, and he gets half knowledge, or no knowledge, or the knowledge which he does not want; what he does want he cannot get. He has to deal with all sorts of results, chemical, mechanical, mineralogical,—what does he know of any one of them? His trade to him is art-magic, or mere mechanical routine; he blunders often, to be sure, on the right, and calls it good luck. But there is no good luck for the instructed; he sees, as it were, in the distance his discovery, and goes on to it by slow but certain steps. He does not bring out of his situation or means half what they might produce; the least degree of appropriate education would have doubled his power; but where are we to look for it? in this commercial nation, where are we to seek for a truly commercial school?

Our lower classes are if possible worse off.—Schools of Industry, Hackney-Wicks, there doubtless are—but how easily can they be counted! It is the education of this or that society, not of the nation. The lower classes for the most part are born labourers, and are likely to die labourers: a noble destiny—a most bountiful dispensation, if they were only taught to think that it was such. It is the using of one's being—the ennobling consciousness that we have power—that we have faculties and limbs, and can make them produce—that we can strive and can succeed. No man is exempted from labour, of one kind or other, or if he be, he is to be pitied,—he is doomed to a curse. But are these the maxims upon which our popular education is founded? Are these the lessons not preached, but infused? Does the child enjoy, or turn to true value, either labour or relaxation? Is he taught equally to venerate the alphabet, and the plough? Is the soil and his own mind placed side by side, as the source of all manly pleasures and fortunes? Does he know on leaving the school how to cultivate either? Is he taught to raise his physical existence beyond the

scale of his forefathers, to fill up its intervals by mental enjoyments? Is he taught the duties of his state? with general ideas of vice and virtue, has he any idea of the peculiar complexion of the vices and virtues of his situation? He regards the tillage of the land as a penalty, and reading and writing, as an instrument only which may enable him some day to escape from it. In the interval he is an indolent labourer, and a discontented man. Do not say that in this case, his intellect has been overcultivated at the expense of the body—no such thing. Both have been allowed to lie fallow. Intellect is better exercised on things than words; a boy who has got the habit of observation, precise ideas upon what he sees and hears, who knows how to bring his stock into use whenever required, is a far better cultivator of his intellect than the glibbest reader and writer in the world; leave him his reading and writing, and nothing else, and you will only make him a secretary for Captain Rock. We confess our ideas of an educated peasantry are very different: they are those of Hackney-Wick: we should like to see their “learning” in their manner of turning up the soil and boiling a pot, their “virtues” in the Christian peace, and honesty of a comfortable cottage home. No wonder that the opposite course should have jostled the classes against each other, no wonder there should be vanity, and discontent, and disorder. Instead of simply but substantially clothing him, we send him our cast-off frippery, and set him up to be stared at by his fellows. The labourer wants education but in the sense of the labourer; he wants a coin that will pass; teach him to love his situation by making it a situation to be loved, and you will not require bayonets to force or keep him down. It is not the Coercive Statute nor the Poor Law, which is order, but every man in his right place, and every man endeavouring to make it so. This is not half so difficult as what we are so obstinately pursuing at present: we are acting in complete contradiction to circumstances and the human mind.

A third defect in our present education is that it is not carried out. The Hackney-Wick Committee watch over their pupils until they are twenty; we leave them at the threshold of the school. But how few are there at this tender age proof against temptation! How many are entangled in circumstances to which their moral power is not adequate! the age at which the passions are most powerful, statistically proved, is between the age of nineteen and twenty; it is precisely at this period that society which affects to be so solicitous for its own security and the happiness of its members, ushers the youth into the wild torrent of human action without a guide or a support; for there are few who walk aloof from the roar and tumult of existence,

—“*ακων παρα θινα πολυφλοιβειο θαλασσης.*”

or who have not in the world of their own soul, some especial Satan, to plunge them onward into fatal indulgence. This then is the time of all others for the guardian angel of Education to watch about their paths, to beckon them from the precipice, to stand between them and the enclosing enemy. Education must here, if not so directly, not less effectually, defend and conduct. All subsidiary means must be devised to keep awake the early religion of the heart; if the ordinary school be not sufficient, the reform school must come to its aid; vice must not be allowed to become crime; it must be met and extinguished in the bud. Libraries, and Societies, and moral and agreeable relaxations, must be everywhere ready to receive the well-disposed. If education is to begin at the cradle, it should end only at the grave; every form and stage of our existence should be considered a portion of its great course.

The prevalence of these defects constitute miseducation, and it is from miseducation, and not education, that all the evils complained of by the anti-educationist, necessarily and actually flow; yet from a want of due reflection on these facts, there are few of the "social order" men who do not raise the cry indiscriminately against both. Every age has its bugbear, and preachers to make it as appalling as possible,—this, of "too much education," and "too rapid education," is ours. Dr. Bell had to apologise for teaching reading, and for awhile excluded, by way of compensation, all writing from his school; it was thought to dispose to forgery; but the forgeries apprehended did not follow, and Dr. Bell became a convert, and converted others, to writing. We confess we see no difference between this and the present outcry about teaching a few steps higher—giving glimpses, as it is scoffingly termed, of geography, geometry, singing, drawing, to clowns! "Whereas before our fathers had no other books but the score, and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used, contrary to the King, his crown, and dignity; it will be proved to thy face, that thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb, and such abominable words that no christian ear can endure."—All this is relative: the luxuries of one age are the necessities of another; these men ought to go out into the highways, and cry down the too great celerity in the transmission of the post, the perilous innovation of rail-roads and steamers.—Oh! for the glorious days of Darby-Dillys and ten day journeys to London! What a horror, that men can now go to Paris for 13s. per head! Telegraphs, and hydro-oxygen light-houses would doubtless have been witchcraft, and punishable, to our fore-fathers.—When first a gas-light was erected in Pall Mall, the "too rapid illuminators" who invented it were indicted for a

nuisance. Many there are who still repine in their heart of hearts at the "Education nuisance," but we cannot therefore consent to take up with their blinking oil lights, though it might prove a better job for this or that churchwarden of the parish. In this anti-education section, all however is not mere candid fear or folly; every inch that is not fool is knave—there is a lurking idea, not that men may not see well enough, but that they may see too well;—abuses may be discovered rather too early and too clearly for the convenience of those who fatten on them. This however, even for the monopolist, is a narrow view of the subject; the advantages gained by putting into action so large an amount of mind, will far outbalance to him any advantage he may have specially held, not by his elevation in the social scale, but by the numbers he held below him. The present age is divided, like every other age, between admirers of the past, and hoppers in the future; the old and young men, each in their relative positions, each with their characteristic passions and opinions; some see all perfection in the middle ages, the venerable "Mittel alter," and all degeneracy and defect in the present; others the reverse. Both to a certain point are right, and both wrong. If present times have their defects, we must not forget that actual civilization, whatever it may be, is the accumulated result of many thousand years, and that its intellectual and moral physiognomy represent not only living men, but those also who have preceded them. The "esprit de négation," a fanatical rejection of all old methods, (for there is a fanaticism in reform as well as in resistance to reform,) may be carried in some cases too far, but it is the sign of "a living spirit"—it tokens, not retrocession but advance. The very disorders which attend such developement are not new to our age; they are the very condition of the *vismotrix* the centrifugal force which impels forward our humanity. Doubtless a centripetal force, to steady and well define principles, must also be generated, to keep us in our proper orbit, and this perhaps has not yet been found; but there is a tendency to find it, there is an anxiety, in despite of all cavil to the contrary, to seek it out. The present age is, truly speaking, not the sequel to the middle ages, but the middle age itself; it is eminently the age of transition; society is still looking on every side for the positive. They who would stop such search, not only do not understand mankind or men, but do not understand the interests of their own little selfishness, they see neither through metaphysical nor historical experience. A Conservatism which thinks to stand still whilst mankind is passing on, is a conservatism which resists, and from an enmity to revolution and anarchy, may become by such resistance both revolutionist and anarchist. There is nothing final;

in an universe all change; the moral, like the physical ocean, is not tideless; the vessel of this or that party may be anchored, but the waters on which it rides move on: its resistance serves only to mark more visibly, that if it be stationary these waters are not. If this be true, the anti-educationist who knows his own, and the public interests, has little choice. The question cannot wait—it cannot stand still—it ought not to stand still; it is then for him, even in the spirit of his own conservatism, no longer to vent his anger in idle exclamation, against *all* education, but to set himself with others in earnest to the task, to make education as *good* as he can: if he fears for the future, let him provide for it; if he be for resisting the age, let him take care that education, by distorted and diagonal movements, not in harmony with the age, does not rather enhance the evils of such resistance; it is still in his power to rule posterity; but to do so, he must rise beyond the mists of the present, he must extend himself beyond the space of his ephemeral existence. He who educates for his age only, will educate below the age upon which education should tell. He must bear in mind that a reform revolution has taken place, and thus to enlarge the limits of freedom, without at the same time enlarging the limits of knowledge, is working in an inverse ratio for all public happiness. The people require now, if ever, to be trained to the wisdom of using their franchises well; they must be educated up to the level of their new constitution, they are now called on to act—they must be taught, therefore, to see and think. The anti-educationist cannot repeal the new charter, he has only to see that its working be entrusted to such minds as in good time may work it well.

Few men now go to the full length of this direct hostility to education; some have been frightened, others shamed, a few convinced, out of the absurdity. It is not less true, however, that there is still a strong though compromised feeling, moving in an under current against it. Not being able to extinguish education, many there are who are zealously engaged in neutralising it. Some have made it a monopoly, others a persecution; some have, under the title of “national,” effectively excluded a large portion of the nation; others, by making it religious *only*, have injured the efficiency and profaned the sanctity of religion itself. Into the motives and movements of this class of anti-educationists, we do not now propose to go; but on some future opportunity we shall be enabled, we trust, to show that they have been still more injurious to the progress of education than the less insidious, but more blundering and open antagonist himself. These too must sooner or later melt, like their predecessors, into the ranks of the country. In an age which witnessed the passing of the

Slave Trade Extinction Bill, the Catholic Relief Bill, the Parliamentary Reform Bill, ignorant indeed and craven must he be, who, in such a cause as Education Reform, can despair.

Another class,—we know not whether to call them friends or foes to education,—are the Indifferents, the Apathetics. They are not to be taken in by any such quackery—they are for a solid beef and pudding organisation of society: they regard physical and intellectual enjoyments not only as distinct, but as opposed. Hence, the moment you talk of instruction they instantly turn you round on bread. “Give poor-laws first, and then we will consent to think of schools.” We say, give both, and both at once, or rather give no poor laws, unless you are quite sure you can give education too. So far from giving a stone instead of a loaf, it gives, by the skill to produce them, two loaves instead of one. These philosophers are the political materialists of society, they believe in nothing—but what they can touch with flesh and bone. Beyond the mere brute man, the mechanical dealing and paying machine, they know little of man or men around them. No effort, in their minds, is worth any thing, which cannot in the instant be coined into pounds, shillings and pence. These men when pressed for their co-operation in furthering education, profess the love but doubt of the possibility of advancing the people; and in order to prove their apprehensions true, take care by a refusal of all assistance to make them so. Projects with them, however feasible, if they extend beyond an hour are “phantasms:” if they go into details which they have not read or reflected enough to understand, “crotchets:” if persevered in, “hobbies” and “bores.”—It is in vain to point out to them that there has never been any great measure, involving large and important changes, which has not successively been all three. But all this is ignorance disguised by vanity,—selfishness opposing usefulness under the respectable pretext of experience and sagacity. They are by half the world called “the friends of education,” and they submit to the honour without a word. If doing nothing *for*, and not a little *against*, education, be friendship, they deserve it. But appeal to them too frequently, or rouse them too abruptly, and to get rid of the importunity—they become at once its avowed enemies. They are in general, however, more quiescent. In this state they form the sand bag, the great dead weight—the *vis inertiae*, against which the cause of education, even more than against direct hostility, has still to strive. Of such is a large portion of the country, and some eight or nine-tenths, we regret to say, of our legislature and government.

These men, as we have said, are the dubious, and seem like bats between either army; but there are others—“friends of

education" as they insist upon being called—who are scarcely less its foes. We do not speak of the wild and impracticable enthusiast, who sees existing things only as visions, and clothes unrealities with flesh and bone—we do not attack the empiricist, who drunk with his own local success, has the vanity to expect his experiment will be enshrined in the statutes of a nation—still less do we mean to call to trial the open adventurer, who trades with the effrontery of any other market jobber, on the intellects and morals of the rising generation. These are cases too notorious, and too easy to be mistaken, to merit a moment's reflection. The pseudo-support and hollow protection to which we would direct attention, is less noticed and more pernicious. The "friends of education," the "true educationists," of whom we speak, are the powerless men in power, the "can't be done" men, who make an outcry about the outcries of others, in order to avoid the necessity of doing any thing themselves. Let them get noise and tumult enough to divert the public attention, and they seize with earnestness the happy opportunity to fall asleep. "The people do not ask—the country is not ripe"—but they take especial care that no unnecessary hints shall be conveyed to the people—and that the country shall be kept as far as possible from the sun. Not that they oppose—oh no! nothing can be farther from their thoughts—they only want a little time for consideration, a little interval of repose—"Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep."—*Prov.* xxiv. Parliamentary discussions there are none, for the Opposition sit mute, and let the subject pass through—they make way for it between their ranks, that it may run itself down. If such a grievance as a debate be probable, there is an easy mode of getting rid of it, (an important expedient in parliamentary strategies). The House is counted out by an impromptu secession, on some appointed day and hour, and the orator is extinguished with the House. Should the Minister at last, by some unhappy blunder on his side, be driven into an observation upon the subject, he takes care to make it answer the safe purposes of silence, or indulges in some complacent panegyric on the exertions of government, with an Exchequer feeling for pounds, shillings and pence. The school-houses are filled with legs and arms!—the Voluntary system works so well! why should we disturb the progress of good by overdoing it?—what can the nation want more? These truisms, as they are considered in the House of Commons, are replied to on the Opposition side by a thorough assent so far as inaction and penury are recommended, but when the debate comes to the question of teaching, they insist on some millions of Bibles more! In all this—education on both sides is left out. The "practical men" have

omitted the most practical and essential part of the whole;—they have required teaching, and not yet produced teachers—they have mistaken the mere mechanism of education for its spirit and soul. To talk to such men of any thing “general,” is an absolute waste of time. John Bull, time out of mind, has been their servant and victim,—time out of mind the “practical men,” the “tape-tiers,” have been the dispensers of his conscience and purse. Admirable work have they made of it, if we are to take the Statute Book with all its incoherences and oversights as a proof. Urge these men, the mighty movers of great events by little means, who would consider themselves lost, if they moved out of their pin-making department in Parliament, to set boldly about a broad and effective system of National Education, and they shrink in dismay. They will plant for you a little school, with a little master, in a snug little village; but the moment you ask for education for a Country, you speak madness, their “micromegas” faculties cannot rise so high; they are, by their very nature, opposed to construction and system. They love to see legislation picturesque, and take care that no one law, man, or duty, shall in any way answer or set up for the brother of another. It is to be hoped that we shall some time or other emerge from this Lilliputian knick-knackery of legislation, into something larger and worthier of men holding the destinies of a great people in their hands. What a system on a national scale may produce, even with all its defects, has been proved sufficiently in Ireland to give a little courage. It is not with 10,000*l.* for a Normal school or two, nor with 20,000*l.* thrown out as a bone of contention between rival systems, that much “national” good can possibly be expected—that we can reform the education of a nation. We have spent millions upon our wars, we actually are spending in Spain not less this year than half a million sterling; our bayonets in Ireland cost us thousands; 20,000,000*l.* entailing a debt of 800,000*l.* a year, has been given to the slave proprietors in the West Indies, for a great moral object—nay, a palace of our king’s has cost 800,000*l.*, and we traffic and haggle when education is in question, for a few thousands. But money is not enough; with thousands no more than with hundreds, if we have nothing else, can we build up the mind of a nation. Mind must be treated by mind, and to carry this treatment generally and effectively, into operation, it must be done on system. *Κεκρμενα μη κινειν* is no maxim to be adopted where there is on every side around us abuse or deficiency. We must have a “National System,” by which every man in the country, and his children after him, shall be secured, not the husks on which

men have hitherto been feeding, but a substantial, applicable, enduring education,—physical, intellectual and religious. Well does Herder, complaining of these defects even in his day and country, exclaim—

“What is the meaning of the word *learning*? We have upon this subject the most erroneous ideas, if we believe that it means to fix in our memory strange words? Words are sounds—unaccompanied with thought, we learn like parrots. Words without thought are to the human soul a pernicious opium, which at first plunges us into a sweet dream, but from which follow all the evil consequences of such a dream of mere words, (*Wortträume*). They deaden the soul, they keep it firmly locked in inactivity; it falls away and dwells in a slumber of injurious thought,” &c.

And such has been in great measure the result of our Voluntary system of education and of our leaving educationists wholly to themselves. It is surely time for us to try something else: we have to rescue infancy from corruption, to render youth fit for the duties of men, to see that age does not forget the intellectual vigour and acquirement, the Christian precept and habit of youth. We know not how this on a sufficiently large and permanent plan can be attained, but by a wise, liberal, and general system for the three countries, of National Education. The example of all countries (for England is now the only state without one), ought surely to be provocation and encouragement enough. If it be an object desirable to a nation, it can only be effected by the legislature and government; the legislature and government, for the sake of the nation, ought not to let another session pass without attempting it. In this they not only discharge a duty, but lay the foundation of the surest prosperity and highest fame. We think with Schwartz—

“The other relation, in which the state is bound to take due care of the rising youth, depends immediately upon the duty which she owes to herself, inasmuch as she falls or rises in proportion to the education of the new generation. If youth goes astray, the whole of the people gradually fall away from all attachment to the state, the bonds of law are loosened, disorder ensues, and at last breaks out into the condition of savage life. The better youth is brought up, the deeper-rooted is all citizenship and society, the richer with hope and blessing flourishes the entire state. Hence, the instruction of youth is as much an obligation imposed upon the State, as his own education upon each individual; and hence, also, is it that she can never sufficiently establish and secure her own welfare, unless she educates well for the present and the coming age, her own children (*Landeskinder*). The state is the more imperatively bound to this solicitude, inasmuch as she stands in the place of the community, or rather of all mankind, and is placed there by God to advance the order and improvement of humanity; and while

she discharges a debt towards her own, to those children especially hers, she at the same time performs a duty of love (*Liebespflicht*) towards other nations, for the improved culture of the one travels to the other whenever it may be wanted, and thus she becomes a light which throws its illumination on every side around. Such is the natural position of a state which provides by wise laws for the education of her youth: she fulfils a sacred duty both towards herself and towards her species. Hence advance, proportionally with their solicitude for education, the fame and glory of such countries, both with the present and with all coming generations."—*Die Schulen*, p. 133.

ART. II.—1. *The Catholic Church, Five Sermons preached in the Parish Church of Blackburne, on occasion of the commemoration of the Reformation, celebrated October 4th, 1835.* By the Rev. J. Whittaker, D. D.

2. *The Duty of contending for the Faith; A Sermon preached in the Church of St. John, Swansea, on Sunday, October 4th, 1835.* By the Rev. Henry Roxby Maude, L.L.B.

3. *The Prevalence of Popery considered; A Sermon preached in Mount Sion Chapel, Tunbridge Wells, on Lord's day evening, October 4th, 1835.* By B. Slight.

COULD we for a moment conceive the times and seasons of God's appointment, leaving the axes of their unerring revolutions, to interfere in each other's functions; or rather, to descend from a sphere so high above our theme,—could we imagine such a tribunal as Lucian has devised for the letters of the alphabet, before which any day of the year might sue its neighbour for trespassing on its appropriated functions,—we are right sure that the fifth day of moody November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, would apply for a solemn writ against the fourth day of the preceding month, as having unjustifiably usurped its duties in the calendar of bigotry. It is true, that, for some years, thanks to the good sense and feeling of our fellow-countrymen, the bonfires of that day had waxed pale and faint; Guy Fawkes, with his lantern, had been plucked by the police, as a nuisance, out of the hands of city urchins; the bells in many places had refused to peal their tones of gratitude, and even the indulgence of immunity from lesson and birch had been, in many schools, withdrawn, for the commemoration of the festival. These were bad symptoms; and something new must be done. Consultation was held, due deliberation was taken, and the sacerdotal caste decided

that one great tercentenary cycle of the Reformation was expired ; that, during its course, a full degree of the zodiac had been passed over, by a retrograde movement, so that, consequently, the heliacal rising of the dog-star of fanaticism must, for the next Sothic period, be placed exactly one month and one day earlier,* on the fourth of October. As far as we have an interest in the matter, the change is in our favour. We would rather have the grand festival of Protestantism celebrated as a commemoration of its own principle, by the observance of the day on which its palladium or *ancile*—a Bible without comment, in the vulgar tongue—is supposed to have come down from Heaven, than see its triumphs marked by feast-days of a political character, calculated to perpetuate the evil feelings, which may have once prevailed among members of the same social body. Not that, even here, invidious comparison was intended to be eschewed ; for care was taken, that the medal, which commemorated the final translation of the Bible by Myles Coverdale, on the 4th of October, should, on the reverse, exhibit Popery locking up the word of God. But still, the ground of rejoicing, now chosen, was less offensively hostile to us, in its nature, than those which had previously been selected to arouse the failing enthusiasm of Protestantism.

The calling of a general assembly to a festival of rejoicing, the proclamation of a universal jubilee, the directing of the voices of all preachers, and the prayers of all congregations, to a specific theme of thanksgiving, are offices, one should have naturally supposed, belonging to the highest authority, and requiring a power vested only in the superiors of a church. But, on this occasion, it was a matter of private responsibility. The Bishops slumbered, the Metropolitans took no part, the *Church* was silent ; while others, more zealous, deemed them dumb dogs that would not bark, and undertook themselves to raise the new war-whoop of bigotry, from one extremity of the island to the other. Marvels were, indeed, expected from this new combination of the forces and energies of Protestantism. The saints had long languished for some new manifestation of the spirit ; the happy millennium had been expected ; the Irvings and the Fabers had prophesied its speedy approach, in the downfall of Popery ;—yet Popery did not even seem to totter ; the land of promise was nearly in possession, but the walls of the spiritual Jericho seemed yet proud and strong. Proclamation went out, that, on the fourth day of October, 1835, being Sabbath, all the tribes should

* The great Egyptian cycle, called the Sothic period, was determined by the heliacal rising of Sirius, or the dog-star.

be gathered together in their strength, and march in solemn array about its bulwarks, bearing with them their boasted palladium; while all the priests and Levites should sound forth their hostile trumpets, and shake, from coping to foundation-stone, the olden walls that rested upon the rock. Long, and loud, and sonorous was the blast, grating at once and grateful to the ears of the zealous; and if, to the honour of our countrymen, there were many parishes where this unauthorised summons was not answered, there were not wanting those, which, in the exuberance of their pious emotion, anticipated the chosen day, and even prolonged, to succeeding Sabbaths, the sweet music of their warlike notes. Nay, not so contented, they even felt themselves called to publish their scores for the benefit of posterity, and of those less fortunate souls who heard not their strain. Of this character are the publications before us.

Let not the reader, for a moment, imagine, that we have selected them from the mass of similar effusions, as though exhibiting eloquence of a nobler order, or learning of greater research, or feelings of a higher standard, or arguments of a more formidable power. The choice, if choice it could be called, has been purely accidental. The pamphlets on our table fell in our way, we know not how, came we remember not whence; they were skimmed over in a few moments, and then cast away; nor would they have been deemed by us worthy of farther notice, had not one or two reflections, that sprung up in our minds after perusing them, appeared to us worth pursuing. In fact, they belong to the ephemera of the times; they are creatures called into existence by a day of accidental warmth, to dance upon the running waters, to flutter over the stream of events, in which they soon must meet their grave. A naturalist may catch a few, and find amusement and instruction in anatomizing them; but, when he has studied a few specimens, he finds them all alike, and too insignificant to repay the minute dissection they require.

The reflections, to which we have just alluded, are obvious and simple, and a few lines will explain them. It is determined, on a certain day, to unite all Protestants in voice and heart, for the commemoration of a certain event, vital to their religion, and containing in itself the practical verification of its essential principle. The Bible alone, accessible to every Christian, his individual right and possession, the Bible alone, without an infallible guide, without a dogmatical authority in the Church,—such is the basis of Protestantism, in contradistinction to Catholicity. Coverdale is supposed first to have rendered this principle of practical utility, by conferring on this nation a Bible which could be practically used. We waive the enquiry, whether the ground-

work of the festival be correct, that is, whether the completion of Coverdale's version can be considered the first presentation of an English version to our country: for we wish to make our present investigation an investigation into principles, and are, consequently, willing to assume the correctness of the fact. It is, therefore, proclaimed and provided, that, on a certain day, the great Protestant principle shall be solemnly commemorated throughout the land, and the sympathies of all, who acknowledge it, are ordered to be concentrated on a point equally dear to all. It is a subject as important and valuable to the Dissenter as to the Churchman, to the Evangelical as to the High-Church clergyman, to the Hierarchist as to the Congregationist. For one Sunday, at least, out of the Sabbaths of 300 years, a unity of object, a harmony of feeling, a sameness of doctrine, a union of charity, an assimilation of thought, will pervade the whole body of Protestantism, and impel it to move, by a common law, in one given direction. At least, were the superiors of our Church, domestic or general, to command the observance of a certain day, as the 18th of January, in grateful commemoration of the blessing of unity bestowed upon the Church, through the authority vested in its pastors, and chiefly in the occupier of St. Peter's chair, we are sure that the same doctrine, the same motives of thankfulness, the same instructions would be presented in every church and chapel which obeyed the call. There might be richer treats of eloquence and erudition in one than in another, but the theme and the feeling would be but one throughout.

Well, then, was it so, with the great tercentenary commemoration of the principles of Protestantism? Our materials are indeed scanty; but luckily, the fewer elements of comparison we possess, the smaller the chances of dissimilarity. If, therefore, we shall find, in a few instances, wide dissent, we may well conclude, that an extension of our objects of comparison would only still further encrease it. We will, however, draw occasionally upon other productions, in date nearly contemporary, and in purpose not dissimilar.

The first consequence, which we should naturally have expected from the character of this festival, would be an accordance in the great principles of the Reformation. But, had it been the lot of any one to hear two or more of these discourses, preached the same day, for the same object, he certainly would have been at a loss to discover, that anything more than the triumph of particular sectarian principles was intended to be commemorated. The Vicar of Blackburne, in the vivacity of his zeal, edified his congregation with five sermons on the occasion, and headed them with the pompous title of "The Catholic Church." He

stands in the pulpit, with all the solemnity of a minister belonging to a well-endowed church, to establish her claim to be the *Catholic* Church, and to thunder his withering anathemas against Popery and Papists. He minces not the matter indeed; he dilutes not, sweetens not, the bitter cup which he thrusts upon his neighbours' lips. Superstition, vice, ignorance, idolatry, infidelity—these are our qualities, these our possession; while the church-goers and rate-payers of Blackburne, 5000, we are told, in number, (p. 4) "belong to a pure, apostolic church, as nearly approaching to perfection in doctrine and government, as any that has existed since the apostolic time"! p. 45. Then, too, the reverend vicar hath great compassion on "the poor and ignorant Papist," because he must "implicitly receive whatever his priest tells him he must believe, do, and *pay*, in order to obtain eternal life"! Why did he not conclude his sermons by the apposite prayer, which would so justly have summed up their substance and embodied their spirit:—"Lord, We give thee thanks that we are not as the rest of men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers;—as also are *these Papists*"? For, while these arrogant assumptions of exclusive righteousness were thus proclaimed in the parish church, the Catholic congregation was not far distant, learning, we doubt not, from their worthy pastor, to be lowly before God, and meek and charitable towards all men.

The conception then, formed by Dr. Whittaker, of the principles and feelings, which this commemorative festival should excite, seems to be, that all acrimonious feeling against his Catholic neighbours and fellow citizens should be stirred up and renewed, that a barrier of hatred and bigotry should be drawn between members of the two religions, and that one should be held up to the other, as a "hideous mass of spiritual deformity and falsehood," as "the patron of ignorance, vice, and infidelity." p. 72. Gracious heavens! And is *his* Protestantism then synonymous with Christianity, with the religion of charity and love? Was the spirit of the Reformation one of hatred and antagonism, of misrepresentation and falsehood, that it should be deemed duly celebrated, by five mortal discourses, rank with a festering exuberance of these antichristian and antisocial feelings? And hath the mantle of its founders fallen from Heaven, if it could do no better than warm its inheritors into so unholy a zeal, and animate them only to scatter firebrands of religious animosity among a peaceful and friendly neighbourhood?

For the honour of human nature, we hope that no religion, aspiring to the name of Christian, will recognize, as a worthy solemnization of its principles, a display of such unchristian sentiments. But after all, this "catholic church," the beauties and

perfections of which have charmed the Vicar of Blackburne into so zealous a hatred of Popery, whereof does it consist? The call upon men to rejoice in the translation of the Bible, was intended to unite all the tribes of Protestantism in one shout of praise; it was a motive of common joy to all, and all dissident feelings were to merge in one universal song of gratitude. Dr. Whittaker too gives us, as a reason why the Protestant Churches should be considered the Catholic church, rather than ours, that "they prevail over a larger space of the globe, (!) and are actuated by a more catholic and liberal spirit, not refusing to recognise, as brethren in Christ, those who are not governed by the same laws."—p. 37. The "Catholic church," therefore, consists of Protestant congregations, spread more extensively over the world than the Catholics are, and recognising one another as brethren, though they have different governments. Now, we beg the reader to compare these words with the following passage:—

"Our National Church of England was foremost in asserting the common rights of Christians—among the first to throw off the subjugation of Rome. *Many (so called) Protestant Churches have apostatized from the primitive faith of Christ, and are now to be found fighting among our adversaries. But the Church of England...still exists, still remains the same as she was three centuries since, and still lifts her banner aloft to the nations.*"—p. 19.

How, we ask, were the hearers of these two passages to reconcile them together? The Protestant Churches are more extensively dispersed over the world than the Catholic, and yet *many* so called are apostates, and fight on the other side. Which are these many? Switzerland we may suppose is one, in consequence of its defection to Socinianism; Protestant France is tainted with the same error, and Germany is deeply involved in rationalism. But the learned Doctor tells us as much. After saying that "it was quite otherwise on the continent, in France, Switzerland, and Germany," than in happy England, he proceeds as follows:

"And what has been the consequence? *They are all of them, with few, I believe no exceptions, corrupted as to the essentials of Christianity.* The cankerworm of Socinianism, the dry-rot of infidelity, have eaten completely through the whole body, substance, and into the very core of these foreign churches, which at first were as pure and as scriptural as was our own in the time of Edward VI...Most of these churches, to which we have made allusion, are chargeable with direct heresy; and are no more to be considered part of Christ's catholic church, than we have shown the apostate Church of Rome to be."—p. 104.

Once more we ask, in the name of consistency, what and where are the Protestant churches, that prevail over a larger portion of the world than ours, if France, Switzerland, and

Germany, are as little a part of the Catholic church as we are? England and America, we must imagine, possessed of some mystical ubiquity, compose this universal church. But still more, we ask, how is Protestantism shown to be Catholic, "by a more catholic and liberal spirit, not refusing to recognise as brethren in Christ those who are not governed by the same laws," when the very teacher who gives this proof of catholicity, unsparingly cuts away from the Church immense masses of people, yea, entire nations, who glory in the name of Protestants? Is this a whit more liberal than what is imputed to us Catholics? Such, then, is the spirit with which a learned vicar thought it meet to celebrate the great commemoration of Protestant principles; venting the most unjust and unfeeling abuse against a religion, which he manifestly understands not, and then shutting out, in a series of almost irreconcilable passages, the great bulk of Protestants, who take the Bible alone for their guide, from all participation in the joy of the day, or the blessings of the Reformation.* Hence it is plain, that, so far from the principle thus celebrated, or the motive assigned, having led Protestants to any thing like unity, or an all-embracing harmony, it has only given a ground to the High-Church divine, to utter condemnation on all Protestants of another sect or complexion. In short, the great lessons taught to the good people of Blackburne, in commemoration of the translation of the Bible, were, that Catholics were every thing wicked, that all continental Protestant churches were out of the pale of salvation, and that all Dissenters lived in the sin of schism! (p. 100.) There is a catholically liberal spirit indeed!

Well, turn we now to Tunbridge Wells, and let us hear the wholesome instructions breathed, by Mr. Slight, upon the same occasion, in Mount Sion Chapel. His discourse bears a more stirring title, "*The Prevalence of Popery Considered.*" Think you that a statistical view of the progress and strength of our religion is here going to be unfolded? Think you that the number of our Churches, and Colleges, and Monastic houses will be stated, and the amount of our Clergy, and the zeal of our Proselytism, and the success of our efforts set before the world? Then, greatly will you be disappointed. This is not the Popery, whose prevalence Mr. Slight wishes to expose. He has no such narrow views; a few paragraphs dispatch us; we are soon put down:—"There was a Church at Jerusalem before there was

* Still further must the auditors of these different passages have been bewildered upon hearing the following sentence in the concluding discourse:—"But so far as the essentials of the Christian faith are concerned, we know that there are no differences of any moment among Protestants." p. 100.

one at Rome;" *therefore* the Pope's supremacy "carries its own refutation on the very front of it." (p. 5.)

But he hastens on to greater things, and celebrates the day, by proving that the Church of England is essentially Popish, and denouncing it as evil. Thus he writes:—

"But it must be observed, there are certain leading peculiarities about these Roman Catholic principles and opinions, which will serve to show, that there is really far more of Popery amongst Protestants, than at first sight they may be disposed to admit, or than is generally imagined. And if Popish views and principles are thus to be found amongst Protestants, will it not demonstrate, that Popery prevails, not only where it is ostensibly the religion of the land, but also where it is not—not only within the pale of the Romish Church, but also without it?"—p. 6.

He then proceeds to give illustrative proofs of "the Popery of Protestantism," as he facetiously calls it, the first of which is the exclusiveness of some sects, as of that which forms the Established Church, and which looks down upon all Dissenters as heretics or schismatics. "Surely," exclaims Mr. Slight, "such sentiments ill accord with the free and generous spirit of Protestantism. And what is more, they are plainly at variance with the lovely principles of the religion of Christ. They may pass current at Rome, but that they should ever be broached and published in Protestant England, and that too in the nineteenth century, is matter of painful regret. The Popery of Protestantism calls aloud for another reformation. Would that some gigantic arm were raised up to shake this cloud-capt Babylon to its base, and level it to the dust!" What already? After only 300 years, another reformation? We thought Babylon was a term too venerably applied to us, to be so easily transferred to Dr. Whittaker's pure, Apostolic Church. And is this the spirit in which delivery from Popery, through Coverdale's translation, is proposed to be commemorated? Is it by exciting odium against the main support of Protestantism? Is it by denouncing the Church, which proclaimed the commemorative festival, as equal to Popery in its corruption, and as calling already for another reformation? Listen now to the following appeal, based upon the passage just quoted:—

"When will there be a brotherly exchange of pulpits, so ardently desired by many, amongst ministers of various denominations? When will the clergyman of the Established Church be seen to stand in his dissenting brother's pulpit; and the dissenting minister, in his turn, be allowed to minister in the clergyman's pulpit?—For my own part, beloved brethren, it would afford me great pleasure to open this pulpit to any *godly evangelical minister* of the establishment, who will come into it, and preach the unsearchable riches of Christ."—p. 8.

What, exclusive even in this pathetic and liberal appeal? Is it only to one section of the Anglican Church, to the "godly and evangelical," that the right hand of fellowship is offered by the Dissenter? Is it not with *all* Protestants, who follow the Bible alone, that, on such an occasion, he will be ready to fraternize? But Mr. Slight finds still stronger indications of Popery in the Established Church:—

"Is it not of the nature of Popery to imagine, that the application of a little water to the body in baptism, effects the regeneration of the soul? Is it not of the nature of Popery to affirm, that none but ministers, ordained in one particular form and connection, are the true and lawful ministers of Christ? Is it not of the nature of Popery that sick and dying people should attach peculiar importance to their receiving the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before they die, as if the act would serve as a passport to Heaven?"—p. 10.

Alas! who would have imagined, that the summons issued by clergymen of the English Church, would have been so answered; that the commemoration, which they proclaimed, would have been solemnized only by denouncing their Church as co-partner in guilt and corruption, with the one from whose dominion they rejoiced in having been delivered, by declaring it to be Babylon, and treating its sacraments and practices as fond and superstitious! What admirable harmony of principle, and unity of thought, is even the common ground of separation from us calculated to produce among Protestants!

But there yet remains the unkindest cut of all. We have seen the Minister of the Established Church excluding all foreign Protestants from a share in the blessings of the Reformation, and involving all separatists from his establishment in the guilt of schism; we have heard the Dissenter, almost at the same hour, retorting on that Church, as embodying the Popery against which the solemnity of that day summoned men to be on their guard; we shall now see the hostility, hitherto confined to the besieged and their besiegers, widely spreading itself within the city, at the very moment when its whole energies should be united against the pressure from without. With a slight alteration we may say

———— "Iliacos extra muros peccatur et intra."

The Third orator on our list, the Rev. Henry Roxby Maude, Vicar of St. Olave, and Rector of St. Martin's, belongs apparently to the evangelical section of the Anglican Church. We, of course, are not spared in the outpourings of his zealous spirit: and the "Man of Sin" and the "Son of Perdition" are made to stalk forth before the Rev. orator's audience, under the hideous and odious aspect of our "forbidding

to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats!" (pp. 9, 10.) But he has evidently a pet theory, which forms the basis of some interesting remarks. It is, that all men are naturally Papists: "every unconverted human being," he says, "is in heart a Papist. Turn back to the records of Grecian and Roman superstition, and in them you may trace Popery. Look towards the polished infidels of India, and behold them suspended from the hook, or crushed beneath the car of Juggernaut. Again, turn to the untutored savages of Africa, and the same spirit, under different aspects, will be found to actuate them all." (p. 11.) Here, at least, is a novel argument in favour of our claim to the title "Catholic;" for it gives our religion universality far beyond what we ever pretended to. For ages since the days of Julian and Faustus, writers had tried to annoy us by calling us imitators of Grecian and Roman idolatry, and copiers of Indian superstitions. We like the conversion of the argument, and admire the ingenuity, which makes all these nations, and the Africans to boot, right proper Papists. But mark what follows:—

"No; detesting, as well we may, this bias of the human breast, we need not scruple to aver our belief, that, even in this comparatively enlightened age, too many there are among the ranks of nominal Protestants, who, could they blind their reason to the gross absurdities involved in such profession, would gladly sink into the extended arms of the See of Rome, and surrender the keeping of their consciences to those, who are content to make void the word of God through human tradition."—p. 11.

It is not, perhaps, difficult to understand what portion of the Church is here signified, as already impregnated with the salt of Popery; but, to aid our researches, we will call in one, who evidently entertains similar views, and is more fearless in exposing them. The Rev. Mr. Bickersteth's "*Remarks on the progress of Popery*"* have gone through three editions at least, and may consequently be supposed to express the feelings of a large class of churchmen, among whom he is numbered, as rector of Watton. We conceive we have a right to place him in the same category as the preceding authors; for he approves, at least, of their doings, in these words;—"The preaching of Tercentenary Sermons, on the 4th of October 1835, was a commencement of a practice, too important, and too useful to be discontinued." (p. 70.) He is, indeed, a man in whom the bowels of controversial mercy have been wrung dry of all compassion. His motto, like Laud's, is "thorough;" he bewails emancipation;

* London, 1836. 3d Edition.

he weeps over the abolition of the declaration against transubstantiation, and the invocation of saints, as "a departure from the principles of Protestantism;" and he upbraids the lukewarmness of those, who are lax in preaching that Popery is the "mystery of iniquity, antichrist," and another personage of the apocalypse, over whose name modesty generally casts a veil, but on whose attributes and titles the riot of Mr. Bickersteth's imagination or zeal betrays him, more than once, into a coarseness of phraseology and of quotation, which, perhaps, has a zest, unknown to us poor sinners, for the palate of the saints. Catholics have been charged with uncharitableness in proclaiming danger of salvation to all that are not in the pale of Christ's true Church; but Mr. Bickersteth leaves no apology requisite for us in future. "The third duty," he tells us, "is to denounce God's wrath on adherence to Popery." And he then proceeds, in a fervid strain, to decry "the spirit of modern infidelity, miscalled liberalism," which proclaims it uncharitable to denounce God's judgments upon millions of our fellow subjects. (p. 72.) At any rate, he does not incur his own censure. With many protestations of charity, we are most feelingly given over to ruin and perdition.

We premise this statement, that the character of the writer, whose sentiments we are about to cite, may be properly known; but we must refer those to his book, who desire a rich treat of declamatory and exclamatory abuse, poured out in language, which may indeed be the dialect of zeal, but which, to our simple minds, appears not to be written with the alphabet of charity. Suffice it to say, that, in the exuberance which he manifests of the former quality, Popery is pronounced to be worse than infidelity. (p. 5.) But if we are thus placed in the comparative degree of evil and wickedness, what are we to think forms the superlative, and caps the climax of iniquity? Mohammedanism, peradventure, or Heathenism, or Judaism, or Socinianism? Oh no;—Protestantism! aye the Protestantism of the greater part of his own Church! Listen, reader, believe, and wonder:—

"A Protestant minister asked a Papist why she did not attend the Protestant Church. She replied, for three reasons; because she heard nothing of Jesus Christ, found no worshipping congregation, and saw no connection between the minister and the people. It is too true, this has been the awful state of many a nominally Protestant *parish Church* in our country; and we see in it why Popery has so grown; and Popery which does hold truth, though it be leavened, is better than such a formal dead Protestantism."—p. 66.

The religion of many a parish church, therefore, is more corrupt than even Popery, which is worse than infidelity! After

this, let Catholics be blamed for speaking severely or strongly against what they deem the errors of the Establishment, while her own sons thus vie with each other in vilifying all within her pale, who differ from their peculiar party. But this is not, by any means, the clearest passage, in Mr. Bickersteth's wrathful effusion, regarding the High-Church portion of his brethren. A considerable part of his treatise is occupied in proving that the growth of Popery is mainly owing to a decline of Protestant principles, (p. 27) and in denouncing, as unprotestant, the publications of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; (pp. 28-42) and then he speaks of a well-known knot of Oxford divines as "a highly respectable, learned, and devout class of men, the tendency of whose writings is departure from Protestantism, and approach to papal doctrine." (p. 44.)

One, who evidently thinks with the estimable men thus attacked, has stepped forth to confute Mr. Bickersteth,* and has, in our opinion, succeeded, so far as an imperfect system, approximating to truth, can overthrow a tissue of rant and absurdity. The author cannot, indeed, escape from the foul blot which taints the pages of every Protestant controvertist whom we happen to open, that of calling us by names which have ever been used offensively. He speaks, too, of holding our doctrines up to "public detestation;" and winds up his denunciations by telling us, that our religion is "a mystery of iniquity." (p. 10) These are, perhaps, propitiatory concessions made by the author, who satisfactorily answers Mr. Bickersteth's childish and false assertions, that the Catholic religion is antichrist,—because, forsooth, it denies Jesus Christ to have come in the flesh! He reprobates, in a tone much more worthy of one professing to be a minister of peace, not only the use of such opprobrious epithets towards us, as the Rector of Watton wished to have habitually in every Protestant mouth, but also, the preaching on themes only calculated to rouse the passions of the mob to deeds of violence (pp. 13, 8.) But he clearly sees, as does Dr. Whittaker, that *disunion in the Church* is the cause of the disorganization which seems to threaten Protestantism, a disunion which he acknowledges to be on the encrease both in England and in America. (p. 13.)

With him we fully agree, though with him we may lament it not. We have endeavoured by a simple, and, we think, a striking process, to show in what manner and to what extent this disunion pervades Protestantism. There seemed to be but one cardinal point, round which all Protestants would

* Observations on a work by Mr. Bickersteth, entitled, "Remarks on the Progress of Popery." By the Rev. W. Brudenell Baxter, A.M. Lond. 1836.

centre, but one *oriflamme*, under the wavings of whose sacred symbol, all the scattered tribes of the Reformation would rally, and march in unity of purpose, but one common principle, which separated them now, as it did formerly, from the hostile camp, and which, by being universally and simultaneously proclaimed as a watch-word, might give a semblance, at least, of harmony and unanimity. It was determined to give to the world the grand spectacle of Protestants in union, for the brief space of one single day, by declaring that day sacred to the assertion of this one indivisible deed of settlement, in which every sect had an equal share and an equal provision made for its existence; and the result was, that a day was thus found whereon each denomination, as if by common consent, flung its condemnation upon all who differed from itself. Can anything be wanted stronger, to prove that dissent and disunion, yea, strife and bitterness, are essentially mixed up with the first fundamental principle of all Protestantism? We might have even pushed our argument much further, had we thought the subject sufficiently interesting to a majority of our readers. For we could have shown how the preacher of each sect has made use of the occasion to establish his own favourite dogma of christianity, as the subject of the day's rejoicing, and to propose his own panacea for the acknowledged evils, which have invaded, and the foreseen dangers which still threaten, the fabric of Protestantism. Like the persons mentioned in the apologue, each one recommends the city walls to be built of the material on which his own craft is engaged. Dr. Whittaker wants church authority and control, in matters ecclesiastical; the others require only the preaching of the total corruption of man, and of the all-sufficiency of redemption through Christ; while Mr. Slight, indulging in a flight of eloquence peculiar to himself, exclaims that "the last named doctrine (the sinner's justification through faith) was the thunderbolt, which the immortal Luther hurled at the towers and battlements of Popery." Who does not expect to hear, in the next sentence, the crash of ruin, which so mighty a stroke, from such an arm, must have occasioned? We, at least, already saw, in fancy, the turrets nodding to their fall, and the bastions rent and riven by the thunderbolt of this protestant Boanerges. But listen to the sublime effect of the "immortal" stroke. "It (the thunderbolt) fell on the *toes* of the great image of superstition"—surely it crushed *them* at least? oh no:—"and they *began* to crumble into dust!" (p. 15) How correct the aim, and how deadly its effects!

By the remarks, in which we have indulged, we do not apprehend that we can have offended men of a moderate and

charitable spirit among Protestants; for they must reprobate, as much as we, these ill-judged attempts to get up a No-popery cry, under the cloak of a religious institution, and to place the point at issue between the two religions upon false grounds, supporting their side only by unfeeling calumny, and coarse abuse. Against such as assail us thus, we shall always feel it our duty to rise, armed with keener criticism and severer reproof; though self-respect will, we trust, be sufficient to preserve us from falling into their faults, and stooping to the use of opprobrious epithets or unfair representations. But such as contradict our faith in an honest and friendly spirit, who, in the substance of their statements regarding us, depart not wittingly from truth, who, in their arguments, avoid all tortuous and uncandid logic, and, in their tone and style, violate not the courtesies of society,—such, as thus take the field against us, shall find us ever ready to meet them, with unvarnished argument, and with a reciprocation of every kindly feeling.

We hesitate not to assert that the era of excitement and passion in religious discussion has passed away: we can now, thank God, make ourselves heard, and we are willingly listened to by our fellow subjects. The appointment of days and seasons for the celebration of anti-catholic feelings will no more answer, than did the collection of mobs, in former times, to burn our places of worship, or the later gatherings of men and women in the area of Exeter Hall, for purposes not more holy, and certainly not less incendiary. We are loth to touch upon this theme again, after the full and satisfactory exposure made in our last number; but the connexion between the scenes of that place and our present topic forces it upon us. When we entered that hall, and, casting up our eyes, saw, inscribed over its portal, the expressive name ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΟΝ, as if to indicate a place where brethren love, and are taught to love, we were tempted to feel, in spite of sad experience, a hope, an augury, that justice or charity would at last influence the proceedings of those, who had chosen such a motto. We allude, of course, to that meeting which took place shortly after the appearance of our last number, wherein one of the most shameless exhibitions ever witnessed was publicly made. We mean not to enter into any refutation of the false and deceptive reasoning there displayed, for we hold it positively beneath notice: nor do we intend to dwell upon the farce of pretending that any absent member of parliament would have been heard, when those who were present, and whose profession particularly qualified them to grapple with their assailants, were forbidden to reply. It is not to such things that we mean to advert. It is the shameless effrontery of a second appearance before an assembly

of Englishmen, after the cruel manner in which their feelings had been played with on the first occasion, that chiefly excites our indignation. That one individual on earth may have a forehead, proof against the self-inflicted pillory of standing in the face of those who had witnessed his previous conduct, experience has now proved to be possible; but where he summoned courage to invite those, whom he had made partakers of his degradation, to place their feelings and characters once more under his control, it is beyond our knowledge of human nature to discover. There must be deep stores of unflinching hardihood, laid up in dark corners of the mind, which we hope never to explore. When we recollect the afflicting spectacle of the preceding assembly, the approximation to savage ferocity in the expression of many around us, upon the forged epistle being read, their knitted brows and scowling glances, the deep and half suppressed growl of execration which fretted in their throats, till vented in a fierce yell of inhuman applause; when we remember the bitter retort, in accents of scorn cast upon us, as we remarked, to one who asked us the date of the document, that a few days would prove it spurious; but still more, when we recall to mind the feverish excitement of the audience below us, of thousands of females, whose cheeks glowed with a hectic fire, and whose eyes flashed with a frantic glare; when we calculate the pitch of fanatical excitement to which they must have all been raised, and then the consequent proportionate reaction which must have taken place, not merely on the return of good-sense to its habitual dominion, but still more on the discovery that they had given themselves up to such unworthy feelings at the bidding of forgery and deceit, we can hardly estimate the depth of self-rebuke and inward degradation, which they must have felt, or the swell of contemptuous anger that must have arisen against the man, who first used the cheat, then defended it, and afterwards had courage enough to summon them once more to meet him, and let him juggle them out of their propriety of behaviour, and all their dignity of sentiment. Yet there, in their presence, he stood, unshamed and unshrinking, behind his store of books, even as the juggler behind his cups and balls. And as the latter seeks to encrease the amazement of his gaping spectators, by shaking out each time a pellet of larger dimensions, till one of enormous size is produced, so did the reverend trickster seek to astound his audience by similar progressiveness in his marvels. Last year, the object of his attack was a simple priest, poor Peter Dens; and little *duodecimos* issued from his trunk, to the delight of his yet inexperienced auditory. But, on the 14th of July, he aimed at nobler quarry; bishops and archbishops were his game, the mysterious box was opened,

and out flew *quartos*; bibles without their covers, and covers without their leaves appeared; till Dr. Murray and all his brethren were proved guilty of we know not what, by the quickness with which one was substituted for the other. We thought the powers of such conjuration were exhausted, and wondered what would next come forth, as he stood once more behind the leathern trunk, that repository whence, on the previous occasion, had issued weapons, which the chairman characterized as drawn from "the armoury of Satan." Well, it opened; and, this time, appeared pregnant with enormous *folios*, almost an entire *Bullarium* hidden in its controversial womb;—for now all inferior orders of the hierarchy were to be overlooked, and Popes alone were to be his aim. We ask, what shall we come to next? What treat of sufficient magnitude, whether in the subject or in the instruments of display, remains in store for the next general meeting?—Yes, there is one which would astonish us more than all the past, and would efface them for ever from our memory. Let us have a display of candour and fairness, of liberality and charity; let us have argument instead of declamation, true statements in place of groundless assertions, and then we may own the place to be not unworthy of the name inscribed over its door.

But, to return from this digression: it is a frightful thing to convoke assemblies of men, whether by crowding them into one hall, or by summoning them, as on the fourth of October, to their places of worship, for the purpose of teaching them how to hate. It is revolting to think how a day, the sabbath of God's rest, should have been appointed throughout the land for its inhabitants to meet, and whet their keenest feelings of religious abhorrence towards their fellow-countrymen, upon the book of God's word. It is humiliating to see the principle of faith, the groundwork of religion to a large body of christians, commemorated only by the most glaring violation of its first practical commandment, that of love. It is instructive, however, to trace the essentially disuniting, disorganizing character of this principle, by finding its solemnization lead to such strife and dissension among those who have adopted it. This, for the present, is the point to which we wish to turn our reader's attention; that, if a Catholic, he may bless Providence for having placed him out of such a self-divided kingdom, and exert himself to bring others into the unity of faith, and if a Protestant, his attention may be drawn to the insecurity of the foundations on which he reposes. If a cranny suddenly appear in the wall of our house, or if fragments of plaster fall from its ceilings, we apprehend danger, and are warned by such symptomatic intimations, to seek a shelter elsewhere. What then should it be when the walls of a church are torn and

breached by outward attack, and when they, who should serve as its pillars, are seen to rush against each other, and jostle together for their mutual overthrow? Surely, even if there were not so high and holy an authority on the instability of a kingdom and a house thus divided, human calculations would lead us to conclude, that here the government is unstable, and the building unsound.

ART. III.—1. *Third Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland.*

2. *The Evils of the State of Ireland, their Causes, and their Remedy—A Poor Law.* By John Revans.

IT would be a needless labour and waste of time, in the present stage of the question, to enter upon a formal inquiry into the necessity of a legislative provision for the Irish poor. That necessity is no longer disputed. The inquiries which have been made, and the reports, founded upon them, which have been laid before the world, have silenced all open opposition to so just and irresistible a cause. A mass of evidence is in the hands of the public, exhibiting such a variety and extent of hitherto unalliated suffering, such a waste of human life and happiness, such scenes of degradation and despair, that no man, reading those painful recitals, “and having human feelings” about him, can resist the imperative and urgent necessity of a Poor Law.

We are not going to distress the minds of our readers by displaying detached groups, or individual scenes of woe, taken from the frightful panorama of affliction which is spread out before us. The Irish reader needs not to be told of sufferings with which his eye is familiar, and his heart sick: and a sufficient publication and exposure of our country's misery has taken place, to awaken the justice and sympathies of the British people. They have heard enough of the multitudes of their fellow subjects, who lie among straw or rushes, upon damp clay floors, without covering enough for warmth or decency. They have heard enough of the annual typhus, and of those “periodical” visitations of famine, to which mighty statesmen find it so easy to inure their sensibilities. They have heard enough of that herb of scarcity, the yellow charlock, which, with nettles and other weeds, often constitutes the summer food of tens of thousands; of the enormous rents paid by the poor for the hovels they inhabit; of the miserable and uncertain pittance of wages they can earn; and of the merci-

less and reckless barbarism with which they are frequently turned adrift, to seek shelter and employment on the world's wide waste. These things are now as familiar to the thoughts of English readers, as they are to the observation and experience of those, who cannot go to their doors without seeing abundant proofs that they exist. Why should we repeat them in detail? Why harass the patience of the public and wear out its pity with "nothing but songs of death?" Such representations have done their work. They have confounded the hard-hearted, awakened the indifferent, and fixed the attention of the humane and wise upon this important question.

And a more important question has not been proposed or submitted to legislative operation, during the present generation. Emancipation, Parliamentary and Municipal Reform, the Abolition of Tithes, are all great questions. By their discussion or effects, they have wrought mighty changes, and still point to events of vast magnitude and moment yet to come. But hitherto society has been more affected by the great principles they involve, than by any matured fruits it has gathered from them. We see Emancipation gradually but slowly smoothing away the inequalities, which an obsolete and unnatural system had raised, to the injury and hindrance of good government. Reform has, as yet, done little more than "put forth the tender leaves of hope," which the progress of legislation may, and, if the people wills it, must, bring to perfection. By Corporate Reform, we expect and seek nothing more than to share the rank and the rights of citizens in our own towns, where we have been too long treated as serfs and aliens. By the extinction of Tithes, we hope for the restoration of peace between different denominations of Christians, and for a more just and beneficial appropriation of a public impost. The effects of these various measures will not be instantaneous; they must await the course of time, to develop and mature them. But a Poor Law will introduce a principle both new in itself, and productive of immediate results of the utmost consequence. Upon property, upon morality, upon the diverse relations and bonds of society, upon the rights and condition of the poor, and the power and resources of the affluent, it will exercise an influence altogether unknown before.

Nor is the importance of the subject diminished by the consideration, that it is not an experiment *in corpore vili*, which may be abandoned, should it fail of the expected results. It will admit of no return to the old track: once begun, the trial must go on to an end. It will be competent for future legislation to amend, to alter, to improve; but not absolutely to annul. The subject must be taken up for better or worse. This con-

sideration, though no excuse for further delay, in a matter, whose repeated discussion has long since convinced the minds of all men that "something must be done," is nevertheless a very strong motive for cautious deliberation, and painful solicitude, in the choice of a measure. Nor can we see any impediment in the nature of the question, to blind or mislead men as to its real tendencies and relations. It is no party question; and we do most cordially desire, that, throughout the weighty deliberations which must ensue, party feelings may not be suffered to interpose their perverting influences. We hope that men of all political distinctions will approach it, as a question which must outlive contemporary interests, and produce a permanent effect upon the social frame; extending beyond ourselves, and these days in which we live, to the times of our remote descendants, and to periods when the destinies of our country will be swayed by other hands.

As yet, so far as we find ourselves at liberty to judge from appearances, there is a concord of opinion as to the general principle. All parties, or at least the leading and most respectable men of every party, concur in viewing the present condition of the Irish poor as disgraceful to the State, which has so long acquiesced in it, and in demanding its full and speedy amelioration. The extremes of political society meet upon this point. Whether they will agree as well about the means, as they do, or seem to do, upon the principle; whether they will hold together to the end, as cordially as they are disposed to start in company, is a matter about which we are not quite so well satisfied. But supposing all who admit the principle to be equally sincere and singleminded with respect to its development, we cannot now see, how party politics can be brought into the discussion. At all events, it shall be *our* endeavour to steer wide of such a mischief; to enter upon the inquiry calmly and temperately, and to go through it, if we can answer for ourselves, with perfect impartiality.

In such a spirit we take up the third Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the condition of the Irish poor, the result of a laborious and diligent inquiry of two years, setting forth the plans of those eminent persons, or of the major part of them, for relieving the sufferings, which, in their previous reports, had been so truly, and minutely depicted. It is an able and well-digested report, indicating as well the intelligence and care which have been bestowed upon it, as the sympathy of the compilers with the poor sufferers who had been committed to their inspection. But our admiration of the talent and benevolence, displayed in the Report, will not carry us so far as to

induce us to concur in the plan which the Commissioners propose for adoption. This is too complicated and involved for practical effect: in its endeavours to shun a great and formidable necessity, it flies to numerous expedients, perplexing enough in themselves, uncertain in their tendency, and, in the aggregate, presenting difficulties and embarrassments far exceeding those which they are designed to obviate.

The main difficulty of this subject lies in the vast number of men, who are able to work, but who cannot now obtain, in Ireland, sufficient employment to maintain themselves, and the families who depend upon their exertions for subsistence. Of this class it is stated, that *five hundred and eighty-five thousand* able bodied men, having besides *one million eight hundred thousand* persons dependent upon them, are out of work and in distress, during thirty weeks of the year! Such an army of paupers, by whatever means collected, might well strike dismay into the hearts of those, who were commissioned to devise means to provide for them. They seem as the multitude in the wilderness, fainting by the way, and having no prospect of relief from human resources. The Commissioners, with their hundred pennyworth of bread, shrink from the arduous task of attempting to feed them. They are afraid to undertake it, and want faith to make the attempt in the only way in which it can be successful.

They are told of the English system; but they cannot recommend that for Ireland, because "the circumstances of the two countries differ widely." There is no doubt of that. The circumstances of Ireland are very different from those of England: But why are they so? what constitutes the *wide* difference? Not surely the "narrow frith" that parts them. No—but they differ, because the laws of England have given rights and privileges to the people of that country, which no law, as yet, has given to the people of Ireland. Before the act of the 43d of Elizabeth was passed, the circumstances of the English peasantry were exactly similar to those of the Irish peasantry in the *Georgian Era*. There was, as Mr. Revans, in his excellent pamphlet, observes, "the same extreme desire to obtain land, and, consequently, the same willingness to submit to exorbitant rents, which now characterise the Irish peasantry. The practice of ejecting the peasantry from their dwellings, of destroying them, and joining the small tillage farms, and laying them down in grass, seems then to have been as common in England as it is now in Ireland."

The resemblance also holds good as to the riotous and lawless conduct which naturally flowed from such a state of things. Agrarian tumults and insurrections broke out in the rural and

populous districts, so *exactly* similar, in character and in design, to the Rockite outrages, that this intelligent writer declares, that, when reading the accounts of them, "it is difficult to prevent the impression that they refer to the outrages, committed a few years since, by the Terry Alts in the county Clare. The nature of the outrages, and the causes of them, are so very similar." And, to complete the parallel, we find, from statements in the preambles of several acts passed in that reign, that "England was, at that period, as Ireland is now, infested by hordes of wandering beggars." No wonder if the circumstances of the two countries *now* materially differ; for a timely remedy was applied, with a steady and fearless hand, to the evils which afflicted England, while the plague has been left to work its wasting way, to the present moment, in the vitals of Ireland. England has ceased to be the scene of warfare between the landlord and the tenant. There is no stripping of roofs, or turning out upon the highways; no consequent vagrancy, or disaffection, or bloodshed. "After the passing of the 43d of Elizabeth," says Mr. Revans, "which gave to the destitute able-bodied a right to relief, I find no further mention of Agrarian outrages, of extensive misery among the peasantry, or of the nuisance caused by large bodies of vagrants." And are we then still to be deterred, by the "different circumstances" of the two countries, from applying the same mode of relief to Ireland, which proved so eminently successful in raising the condition of the English peasantry, from misery and insubordination, to a state of security, and peace, and comfort? Surely there is nothing in the constitution, or the *idiosyncrasy* of the Irish patient, to render him callous to the same method of treatment!

Oh, but "the *circumstances*" of the country, say the Commissioners, will not admit of the application of the Poor Law, now existing in England, to the poor of Ireland; and they ground this opinion on three distinct considerations. First, the English system is chiefly directed to put the able-bodied upon their own resources, and force them, when they cannot find employment at home, to seek it elsewhere, through migration. Now, the Irish peasant wants no stimulus to urge him to this; for he is as anxious to procure employment at or near home, as, failing that, he is ready to seek it by emigration to distant settlements. It is not the unwillingness to work, therefore, but the impossibility of obtaining work, which the legislature has to combat in Ireland. This is quite true, in the present state of the country; but there is a remedy for it, and that remedy is as simple, as, we have no doubt we shall prove it, adequate, before we have done with the subject.

The second objection to the English Poor Law, is stated to be, the expense of erecting workhouses, which the Commissioners estimate at four millions sterling, and of afterwards maintaining them, which is computed at five millions annually. In forming these calculations, they suppose that provision should be made for the reception, and continual maintenance, of 2,385,000 persons, being the whole number of able-bodied labourers now out of work, including the families dependent on them. The extravagance of such a calculation is so glaring, that we only think it necessary to direct public attention to it.

Thirdly, they are of opinion, that the Irish peasantry would rebel against the system, and "rather endure any misery than make a workhouse their domicile;" that "it would be regarded, by the bulk of the population, as a stratagem for debarring them of that right to employment and support, with which the law professed to invest them;" and that, if any of them were induced to accept the shelter thus offered to them, the discipline of the place would "produce resistance, tumults would ensue, and, after much trouble, expense, and mischief, the system would be abandoned altogether." With these opinions, we marvel not that the Commissioners "consider it morally, indeed physically, impossible so to provide for such a multitude, or even to attempt it with safety."

We quite agree with them, that the habits, tastes, and affections of the Irish peasantry, are against a workhouse system. No people, under heaven, would feel more acutely the necessity which should part them from those who shared their troubles, and cheered and sustained their spirits, in the midst of adversity. Most irksome would it be to leave that circle, to which the Irishman's heart ever fondly turns, and seek the cold comfort of a parish workhouse. Few, we are assured, would take up their rest in such an abode, with its prison-like restrictions, for a lengthened term. But the same affectionate feeling towards his family, which would render such a sojourn intolerable to an Irish peasant, would also reconcile him to its occasional shelter, when he once became convinced that its establishment was conducive to the permanent security and support, both of himself and of his children. And a very short time, or we are greatly mistaken, would suffice to convince him of that. It is true, as the Commissioners state, that "the labouring class are eager for work, and that work there is not for them; and that they are, *therefore*, and not from any fault of their own, in permanent want." The dread of the workhouse, consequently, is unnecessary to put *them* on their own resources to procure employment. But are there not *others*, whom the dread of the same object

might put upon *their* resources, with better effect, in order to find work for the poor man? Would not the necessity, imposed upon the man of property, and upon the state, of maintaining such an asylum for the able-bodied out of work, give a spur to the benevolence of the rich, and ultimately cause employment to abound? If, as Mr. Revans argues, and we think unanswerably, "the workhouse provision constitutes a certain, as well as a safe, *minimum to earnings*," the Irish peasantry will not be long in discovering that fact; and the knowledge of such a circumstance will soon assist them to overcome their repugnance to a restraint, so salutary in its operation upon their future prospects. They are too well trained to habits of self-denial, even where no promise of advantage supports them, to kick against a trial of patience, so obviously intended and calculated for their good.

As to the idea of the Houses of Refuge becoming permanently occupied by the labouring class, a class so "eager for work," we need scarcely attempt to show how vain is such an apprehension. For the Report itself, in the next paragraph to that in which the objection is started, and in which one half of the gross rental of the country is threatened with absorption, by the permanent pauper inmates of those asylums, very frankly acknowledges, that the Commissioners do not think that "such an amount of expense would, in point of fact, be incurred." We feel very happy that we can conscientiously subscribe to this opinion, and for the same reason, amongst others, with that alleged in the Report, namely, the general repugnance of the people to so disagreeable a residence. Our concurrence, too, is grounded on something beyond mere opinion. Experience of the system in England fully proves, that no superiority of fare, or entertainment, can induce the poor to rest content within the walls of a workhouse, while separated from their families, or debarred from that, which, in every state and stage of fortune, is as dear as life itself, an uncontrolled command of their own time and actions. Mr. Revans visited a workhouse in Nottinghamshire, where, to speak without a figure, the inmates "fared sumptuously every day," and were allowed to pass their time without labour, and in unrestrained intercourse with the female members of their families. Yet very rarely did able-bodied persons apply for admission into that house, a circumstance which the master explained, by saying,—“Oh, Sir, I keep the key of the door, and I very seldom allow the able-bodied people to go out, which they don't like; so, if they can possibly live out, they won't come in.” The same sentiment undoubtedly prevails, with at least equal force, in the breasts of the Irish peasantry. They would endure much hardship, rather than submit to the restraint and discipline of a work-

house. But, at the same time, extreme distress and hunger, which "makes all things sweet except itself," will often render such an asylum acceptable to them, as a temporary shelter; and this is precisely the sort of estimation in which it is desirable that those receptacles should be held. For thus they will be subservient to necessities, for which no other present help can be devised; at the same time, that there will be no danger of their becoming heavily burdensome to the country, as repressing a spirit of industry and independence among the poor, or affording an acceptable retreat to the profligate and the idle.

The Commissioners object also, and with good reason, to a provision for forcing the landholders to employ the poor, or giving what is called "parochial employment." Through that door entered all the abuse, waste, and immorality, which, before the enactment of the Poor Law Amendment Bill, constituted the crying evil and danger of the Poor Law system in England, and which, if suffered to go forward and accumulate, would have inevitably swept away the barriers of property, paralyzed and destroyed commercial enterprise, and involved the distinctions of society in inextricable confusion.

Of this truth, the remarkable case of Cholesbury, a parish in Berkshire, which is cited by the Commissioners, affords a striking illustration. There the rates went on with fearful progression, to meet the demand for out-of-door employment, until, at length, the "landlords gave up their rents, the farmers their tenancies, and the clergyman his glebe and his tithes!" All this, however, proved inadequate to the still increasing distress; and the neighbouring parishes were actually obliged to help those paupers, who were already in possession of every inch of land, and of all that it produced, in their own parish!

This was an extreme case; but numerous others, not so leveling in degree, yet still intolerably exactive and ruinous, occurred in every part of England, to the oppression and discouragement of the gentry and middle classes, especially of the farmers; whilst the effect upon the moral habits of the peasantry were most deplorable. On the one side, an offer was made of labour, which those on the other side, little as they might want it, were not at liberty absolutely to refuse. Hence, a continual contest was kept up between the occupier of the land and the labourer, in which it was the endeavour of the former to evade the necessity of encumbering himself with more help than he required, and of the latter to oblige him, by representations of real or fictitious distress, and not unfrequently by violence, to take it. Under the operation of such a system, the feelings of mutual reliance and good-will were quickly obliterated, and a sentiment

of sullen hostility and mistrust was engendered in its room, most detrimental to the interests of both; inspiring the one with harshness and severity, and the other, with a secret resolution to render back as little service as possible, for the extorted support which he received. Nor was the condition of the labourer improved by the great sacrifices made to keep him from want. He was, and felt himself, a degraded man; and by the humiliating and fraudulent means, to which he was often compelled to resort, in order to extort parochial assistance, he soon lost the love of independence, which was once the boast of the sturdy British peasant. Its bread was no more sweet to him. He preferred the lazy, reckless life of the parish pauper, with all the squalid, improvident, and intemperate habits, which naturally grew out of that worst kind of villanage, to the hard-earned crust of honest, independent labour. Wherever the system of "out-of-door relief, or parochial employment," was most prevalent, there drunkenness and other degrading vices flourished; and it is most gratifying to find, as we see it stated in the Report of the English Poor Law Commissioners, that the change, which has been introduced into the system, has already produced a visible improvement in the habits of the English peasant. "While the indolence, generated by the old system of parochial employment, has been thus superseded by habits of industry, the train of vices, generated by indolence, are found to be gradually diminishing. The increase of sobriety is frequently indicated to us, in the progress of the change, by the complaints of the beer-shop keepers, that the consumption of beer has been diminished, and by their activity in opposing the progress of a further change."

Looking to these facts, and to the character of our countrymen, unhappily too prone to habits of improvidence, the Commissioners "cannot recommend parochial employment, or out-door relief, for the labourers of Ireland:" and to the propriety and justice of this conclusion we find ourselves constrained to subscribe.

But what then do they recommend? It seems absurd to talk of a provision for the poor, and yet leave the unemployed able-bodied poor, who constitute so large a proportion of the whole, unprovided for. The Commissioners will not open the workhouse for them. They object, with equal vehemence, to finding parochial employment for them, or to giving them relief out of doors. Here, then, the difficulty, which met us at starting, is still in our way; and how is it to be got over?—The Commissioners propose a number of expedients for that purpose, some of which we shall now briefly consider.

The first thing they suggest is *Emigration*;—Emigration, as

a means of carrying off "the redundancy of labour, which now exists in Ireland." With this view they recommend the establishment of "*Emigration Dépôts*," for such as may be "unable to find free and profitable employment in Ireland;" these depots to serve for their reception and intermediate support; such support to be afforded only, "as a preliminary to Emigration;" and a free passage to be provided, at the public expense, conjointly, in some instances, with that of the landlords, for those who cannot afford to pay for themselves. "It is thus, *and thus only*"—says the Report—"that the market of labour in Ireland can be relieved from the weight that is now upon it, or the labourer be raised from his present prostrate state." What the expense of all this might be, the Commissioners have omitted to state; but it may be deduced from several passages in their Report, without going further for proof, that it would be very considerable; for, according to their statements, the correctness of which we see no reason to question, vast numbers would avail themselves of the opportunity, thus afforded, of leaving their homes, and their country, for ever. Those who are able to work, and cannot now find free and profitable labour in Ireland, are said to amount, together with their families and dependents, to two millions three hundred and eighty five thousand persons. Now, if the Commissioners, to fortify their objection against workhouses, assumed that accommodations should necessarily be provided for all this number, are we not equally warranted in calculating, that they will all claim the refuge of the Emigration Depots, and demand a free passage to the Colonies? We appeal to the Report itself, which states, that "the feelings of the suffering labourers in Ireland are decidedly in favour of Emigration; they do not desire workhouses, but they do desire a free passage to a Colony, where they may have the means of living by their industry;" and we refer to the voluminous extracts, which it brings forward, from the evidence taken before the Assistant Commissioners, showing the universal prevalence of those feelings in the breasts of the Irish peasants. They do desire to abandon the shores of their native land, that land, which they love with a romantic affection. It is, to them, a land of misery and privation, though Providence has blessed it with fertility and beauty, scattered, amongst its hills and in its green vallies, sources of wealth as profuse as they are various, and continually offers, on all sides, abundant and remunerative occupation to the energies and productive industry of its people. Yet they are desirous to quit this, "their own, their native land," for the aguish swamps of Canada!

Do we ask the reason of this strange passion? It is not to be

found in a rambling disposition, a love of change, or an impatience of legal restraint; but in utter and absolute necessity.

“ Their poverty, and not their will, consents :”

and if, then, with their known attachment to “ the land that bore them,” and to the associations of clan and kindred for which they are, at all times, and on the most trivial, as well as on the greatest occasions, ready to sacrifice life itself, the Irish peasantry are still desirous to obtain a free passage to the Colonies, this is only a proof of the extreme and hopeless wretchedness of their condition at home. Whoever has seen the departure of a family, or of the inhabitants of a village, upon such a momentous expedition, will not find it easy to forget the lamentations and the agony, with which the poor Exiles of Erin bid a last farewell to the scenes of their childhood. From the youngest child, who is capable of reflection, to the fathers and brothers of the party, one wild cry of sorrow and despair is heard to rise. As they go forth, every village joins in the dismal concert, until the poor emigrants have passed beyond the limits of friendship and acquaintance. Thence, onward to the coast, they are objects of universal pity. “ God help them !”—“ The Lord go on their road !”—and such like tender and pious ejaculations speed them on their way, from every house by which they bend their mournful steps. The labourers in the fields rest on their spades, to offer a prayer in their behalf, as when a funeral passes by; and, in short, every movement and expression both of the emigrants and of those who remain behind, shows that this mode of relief for the suffering poor of Ireland, “ disguise itself as it will, is still a *bitter draught*.”

But when, in addition to all this, we take into account the cost at which the Commissioners propose to carry out this their sovereign and only antidote for a surplusage of labour, we can scarcely contain our astonishment, that wise and benevolent men should dream of such an outlay, for the purpose of making “ aliens” of those, whom the same amount would convert into useful and happy citizens. Their views on this head are set forth in the twenty-third section of the Report :—

“ We propose that arrangements for carrying on Emigration shall be made between the Commissioners of Poor Laws and the Colonial Office, and that *all poor persons, whose circumstances shall require it, shall be furnished with a free passage, and with the means of settling themselves* in an approved British Colony, to which convicts are *not* sent. *We propose too, that the means of Emigration shall be provided for the destitute of every class and description, who are fit subjects for Emigration; that depôts*

shall be established, where all, who desire to emigrate, may be received in the way we shall mention; that those, who are fit for emigration, shall be there selected for the purpose, and that those, who are not, shall be provided for, under the directions of the Poor Law Commissioners."

In connexion with the above proposal, they further suggest that "Penitentiaries shall be established, to which vagrants, when taken up, shall be sent, and that, if convicted (before the next Quarter Sessions), these persons shall be removed to a free Colony, not a penal one, to be appointed by the Colonial Department." By the provisions suggested in these sections, the Commissioners assert,—and, to mark their confidence, we suppose, in their plan, they print the whole passage in italics,—that "All poor persons who cannot find the means of support at home, and who are willing to live by their labour abroad, will be furnished with the means of doing so, and with intermediate support, if fit to emigrate; and, if not, will be otherwise provided for; while the idle, who would rather beg than labour, will be taken up, and the evil of vagrancy suppressed."

They, who were startled at the apprehended expense of constructing workhouses, and maintaining them, for the relief of the able-bodied out of work, are yet willing to encounter all these various, complicated, and heavy charges, in the attempt to reduce the population. *Workhouses* are not to be erected, for fear of the expense; but *Depôts* are. Surely much is "in a name." These *Depôts* must be capable of affording shelter to *all*, who cannot find free and profitable employment, and are willing to seek it abroad. All, who desire to emigrate, are to be sent, passage free, to a British Colony; and not only so, but they are to be maintained, until means can be conveniently found of sending them out; and after they have been thus sent abroad, they are to be provided with the means of settling themselves in the country to which they are removed. We do not quarrel with this latter provision. It is humane; and, if emigration be adopted as the *panacea*, it is indispensable: for, to turn them loose upon a distant shore, without such assistance, would be nearly as great cruelty as to expose them upon a desolate island, or to abandon them at sea, without rudder or compass. But look to the expense of it, and consider all that might be done towards rendering these poor people valuable and contented members of society at home, with half the outlay thus incurred for the sake of getting rid of them.*

* Mr. Revans says (with some exaggeration, we admit) "one fourth of the population of Ireland might be withdrawn, and yet wages not be raised. To emigrate 1,500,000 or 2,000,000 of people in one year, would be impossible. To spread the

Our feeling, with regard to emigration, leads us to place it in a very secondary degree indeed, whether it be regarded as a means of diminishing pauperism, or as calculated, in any material degree, to promote the peace of Ireland, and the security of life and property within its confines. By itself, and in its *practicable* opera-

emigration over a number of years, would not have the desired effect upon wages. The natural increase of the population would supply nearly as many as the emigration would subtract."

Of the expense of emigration, on a large scale, some notion may be formed from the following return of the cost of sending out *twenty-seven families*, from the estates of the Marquess of Lansdowne, in the Queen's county, to Quebec. Their mere conveyance to the American coast, without the charge of "emigration depôts" before embarkation, or of providing for, and settling, them in new habitations, after their arrival in Canada, cost 451*l.* 19*s.* At the same average rate, the mere cost of the voyage for 100,000 families, that is, only two-fifths of the unemployed labouring class, would amount to nearly 1,700,000*l.* We should be, perhaps, considerably within the mark, if we stated that the expense of their previous maintenance in the emigration depôts, and of settling them afterwards in a proper manner in America, would make the difference between that sum and *three millions*. A "pretty considerable" price for getting rid of 100,000 families.

The statement, which we subjoin, reflects the highest credit on the Noble Marquess, and on the manager of his Queen's county property.

Return of the expense of sending emigrants from Luggacurran, in the Queen's county, the estate of the Marquess of Lansdowne, to New Ross and Waterford, and from thence to Quebec.

No. of Families.	Individuals.	Expenses to New Ross and Waterford.	Passage and Subsistence.	Passage, including head-money at Quebec.	Provisions.	Total Expende.	Average cost per head.
10	62	£ s. 6 16	£ s. 156 15	—	—	£ s. 163 11	£ s. d. 2 12 9
8	46	6 3	115 0	—	—	121 3	2 12 8
9	60	7 5	—	115	45	167 5	2 15 9
27	168	20 4	271 15	115	45	451 19	

The lands of Luggacurran contain 1687 acres, late Irish plantation measure, and fell into the proprietor's hands in March 1831, a season of very great disturbance and Agrarian crime. Notwithstanding this, the agent received the possession without any difficulty, from about 160 families; the lands were then surveyed and carefully divided; and were afterwards valued by a public valuator. They were then let to 90 families, on a five years' lease, at his valuation, being 203*l.* per annum, on an understanding that, at the expiration of that period, such of them as were approved of should have a lease of one life or 21 years; and during the aforesaid period, an allowance of *one quarter's rent* was made to each tenant, for liming, draining, and other improvements. Of the 90 families, the agent found it necessary to remove *only 5 families*; these lands have now been relet, and leases executed to 88 tenants, from the 25th of March 1836, for one life, or 21 years, at the original valuation, 1-8th being deducted from that amount, and tithe free. The largest farm contains 120 acres, and the smallest 2 acres, average extent of each holding, 19 acres. The highest rent is 42*s.* per acre, and the lowest 9*s.* 6*d.* average acreable rent 22*s.* 8*d.* including tithe composition. The tenants are all satisfied, have paid up their rents due on the 25th March last, and are now preparing to register a ten pound franchise."

tion, it could never have the effect, (by which alone such objects can be permanently achieved), of lowering the rents of the poor, or of raising the rate of wages; because, in order to produce those effects, it should be carried to an extent, which, to speak in the language of the Commissioners, is "morally, indeed physically, impossible."

Within the last seven years, two hundred and ten thousand persons, chiefly of the labouring class, have emigrated from Ireland. Yet, save by their own friends, and by those landlords who have profited by their removal, their departure is unnoticed and unfelt. By the community at large, and by the police, "*nobody is missed.*" Nor can we imagine that the subtraction of the same number, in a single year, (supposing it practicable) would, of itself, and unaided by other means, have much perceptible effect on the state of those who should be left behind. We are sure that the opinion of the witnesses in the barony of Clonlisk (King's county) is not exaggerated, and that it is equally applicable to most other parts of Ireland: viz.—"The witnesses find it difficult to say what number should be taken from the able-bodied population, to afford the labourer steady wages at a moderate rate. They think that, though twenty per cent. were removed, it would have but little effect upon wages. They do not think it would raise them *one penny* per day."

But though we set no value upon emigration, as a primary and essential principle of relief, we are far from proposing to close the door against it. As subsidiary to a large and substantial provision for the poor, it may become highly available to that important purpose. Restless and adventurous spirits should be supplied with "room and verge enough" to indulge their vein; and others, for various reasons, may be anxious to emigrate, whose secession might prove a relief both to them and to the country. There are also many places, where the evils arising from the excess of the population above the demand for labour, and above all reasonable expectation of its being at any future time required for local employment, can only be remedied by the removal of some portion of the people to a more profitable field of work. In such cases, means should be provided, as ample as a regard for the interest and permanent prosperity of the poor themselves may require. But we do think, that we are not extravagant in looking forward to the time, when, even in the judgment of political economists, Ireland will not contain an able-bodied man too many for her own wants; and that this will be accomplished without the aid either of emigration, or of war, or of any other drain, invented by the policy or the wickedness

of man. Let security be given for the investment of capital in manufactures, and in extensive agricultural improvements—a security which can only be effected by first giving the poor a secure resting-place in their own country, free from the danger and the apprehension of being driven out to destitute vagrancy—and then our labourers will find employment in abundance. Every arm will then be required, for every arm can then be turned to profit.

But let us be just to the Commissioners. Whilst they speak of emigration as the only means of “relieving the market of labour from the weight that is *now* upon it,” they also suggest other modes of repressing such redundancy, with a view to keep as large a proportion, as they can, of the population, profitably and usefully employed at home. They desire also to qualify their recommendation of that specific, which they “do not look to as an object to be permanently pursued upon any extensive scale,” but at the same time, they insist upon it, as “an auxiliary essential to a commencing course of amelioration.”—We now proceed to take the remaining suggestions of this report into consideration.

The plan of improvement, recommended by the Commissioners, proceeds also upon a commencing principle of amelioration. “As the business of agriculture is, at present, the only pursuit, for which the body of the people of Ireland are qualified by habit, it is chiefly through it that a general improvement in their condition can be primarily wrought.” Afterwards, as the labourer’s condition improves, trade and mechanical labour will, of course, flourish in proportion, and “we may expect that division of labour in Ireland, which exists in England, and which is at once an acting and reacting cause and consequence of the wealth of nations.”

There can scarcely be two opinions about the truth of this. If agriculture really prospers, and we account it no prosperity, where the labourer is excluded, as is now the case in Ireland, from his rightful share, all other interests must flourish along with it; for the benefits of remunerative employment will diffuse themselves among the warehouses and the workshops; and thus, in addition to the wealth which will be so created, new sources of occupation and industry will be opened to the poor, and new ties of reciprocal attachment will be created, to bind them for ever to their native country. But the Report sets out with the startling proposition, that the Irish labourer has now the same proportion of the produce of the land in his own country, as the English labourer has in England; and thence argues, that, in order to advance his earnings out of the land, its productiveness

must be encreased in proportion; for that, otherwise, there is danger of "throwing land out of cultivation, and involving, not only landlords and farmers, but the labourers and the whole community in general destruction." The facts, on which this statement rests, are these:—England, with thirty-four million acres of cultivated land, employs fewer agricultural labourers, by nearly 100,000, than Ireland employs in the cultivation of fourteen millions and a half: in other words, there are, in Ireland, about *five* agricultural labourers for every *two* engaged on the same quantity of land in Great Britain. Now, the agricultural produce of Great Britain is more than four times that of Ireland; and hence the Commissioners argue, that, if a proportional share of the produce of each country were given to its own labourers, there would be more than four times as much for the British labourer, as for the Irish, and that, in point of fact, the earnings of agricultural labourers in the two countries are in that proportion; the English labourer's earnings averaging from 8*s.* to 10*s.* a week, and those of the Irishman from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; so that the land, in its present state of cultivation in Ireland, could not afford higher wages to the labourer than it actually pays, without hazarding those fearful consequences, which have been already mentioned.

It would surprise the authors of this Report to be told, that weavers, employed on the hand loom, were entitled to no higher wages, in proportion to the amount of work done by them, than the operatives employed in a power-loom factory: or, to bring the illustration nearer home, that labourers, hired to thresh out corn with a flail, would have no right to murmur, if their recompense bore merely the same proportion to the quantity of grain separated from the straw, as that of other men, employed in another part of the country, in feeding a threshing-mill. But the process of agricultural business done in England has the same analogy (though the proportions are certainly nothing like so wide) to that done in Ireland, as labour, performed by the aid of machinery, has to labour performed by the hand. A vast deal of that kind of labour, which Irishmen perform with the spade, is done in England by horses. The operations of planting and digging potatoes, for example, besides those of trenching, moulding, and weeding them, are performed, in most parts of Ireland, by manual labour. In England, they are performed with the plough. Again, in England, the farmer, in sowing grain, rarely employs any assistance but that of the harrow and the roller. In most parts of Ireland, the same work is done with the shovel and the spade. There is another work, too, which, although, strictly speaking, it has no connexion with husbandry, devolves neces-

sarily upon the agriculturist, and occupies a large portion of the Irish labourer's time and industry; that is, the duty of providing and laying in the yearly supply of firing. In England, this operation is performed, as far as the agricultural labourer's part of it is concerned, by going to the mouth of the coal pit, or to the ship, or the canal boat, and fetching home what is there put into his waggon. The Irish labourer, on the other hand, is employed, during several weeks in the best and most profitable part of the year, in the cutting, rearing, and stacking of turf; a truly slavish and laborious occupation. In short, the labourer, in England, is commonly engaged in directing and guiding the force of horse or machine power, to extract produce from the land, or render it marketable: whilst, in Ireland, he must perform all this, or at least by far the greater part of it, himself. What parity of justice, then, is there between the claims of the Irish and of the English labourer upon the produce of the land? or how can it be maintained, that, by recompensing the former in a higher proportion to the produce, which they severally help to raise, than the labourer of Great Britain, he will receive "more than ought to come to his share?" Surely, if the workman, whose industry is aided by the employment of horses and machinery, in every instance where they can be employed with effect, and whose bodily labour or skill, compared with such help, constitutes but a fraction of the productive power that is used,—if such a one is entitled, for his personal share in the work, to a certain proportion of the produce, the workman who supplies, by his own exertions, the functions of all other auxiliaries, is entitled to the additional benefit of such *extra* labour and service. If the former has a right to a fourth, the latter may fairly claim at least a third, of the produce; for he contributes more than the difference, in the excess of his labour, over that of the other.

The comparison, therefore, instituted by the Commissioners, is fallacious, and so is the conclusion which they draw from it. They state that the English labourer raises four times as much produce as the Irish, and, therefore, that the recompense, which they severally receive, is in just proportion and cannot be altered, without involving the whole community in general destruction. It is not the English labourer *alone*, who raises four times as much produce as the Irish, *in the same circumstances*; but it is the English labourer, *assisted by horses, and manure, and an expensive system of husbandry*, supported by the capital of his master, who surpasses his Irish competitor, *unprovided with any one of these helps and advantages*.

This is the true state of the case; and we leave it, then, to any man of common sense to say, whether, with such a difference

existing in the "appliances and means," it is necessary, in order to keep land in cultivation, and preserve landlords, farmers, and labourers from destruction, that the nominal proportion between the prices of human labour, in England and Ireland, must continue the same. The English employer can afford to pay his workmen from 8s. to 10s. a week, though this is a small item in the expense of cultivating his farm. The Irish employer, on the other hand, incurs no other considerable outlay in the cultivation of his ground, beyond the hire of his labourers; and yet, he only pays them in the same ratio to the produce, as the man, whose capital is sunk to a large amount, and who has, besides, so many heavy demands to meet. This may be a "proportion" *in figures*; but it is anything else in reality.

Even in the present state, then, of agricultural produce and wages, if it be essential that an exact relative proportion should exist between them in the several parts of the United Kingdom, the sooner some effective measures shall be taken to raise the amount of the latter in Ireland, the better, according to the notions of the Commissioners, will it be for those great and momentous interests, which they consider to be endangered by a disparity. Many landholders may doubtless be pinched, by such an addition to their expenditure; and the inconvenience will probably extend higher than the mere tenantry; but if they are not required to pay more in proportion than the English farmer, and are yet unable to bear it, that inability must proceed from something else than any undue advantage thus given to the latter. However, a more equitable distribution of the profits threatens no result more awful to the community than the removal, or resignation, of some rack-rented tenants, and, perhaps, a transfer of some now grossly mismanaged and neglected estates from their *nominal* owners, to masters who possess the means of putting forth their resources for the common benefit. Whether the inability, therefore, to afford the same proportion of wages as that which is actually paid by the British employer, may proceed from a different proportion of rent pressing upon the tenant, or from peculiar engagements and embarrassments affecting the net income of the landlord, such impediments must not interfere, to prevent the adoption of some legislative measures for securing a fair and equal proportion of justice to the labourer. The land is well able to "render unto all their due." Let not any make their private difficulties, which, however incurred, have no right to be taken into the consideration of this question, or their fanciful valuations of what really belongs to them, an excuse for engrossing "more than ought to come to their share."

The Commissioners, desirous to "observe the utmost caution

in applying a remedy to the evils they have to deal with," lest they should run into those which an erroneous comparison had led them to apprehend, suggest that the improvement of the condition of the Irish labourers shall be preceded a little way by that of the land, so as to keep up the relative proportion, with England, between work done, and produce brought to market. To this end, they propose to institute a Board for carrying into effect a very comprehensive system of national improvement. It is to cause surveys, valuations, and partitions to be made of waste lands, with a view to their being brought into cultivation; the requisite drains and roads through such waste lands to be made by the Board of Works, which, in consideration thereof, shall have an allotment of certain parts of the land so reclaimed, made to it, in trust for the public; and these allotments, being fenced and otherwise improved, at the discretion of the Board of Improvement, shall be sold, or let, subject to conditions imposed by that Board. Next, with respect to lands already in cultivation, the Board of Improvement is to be invested with authority, according to the principle of More O'Ferrall's Drainage Act, to cause all lands to be kept duly drained and fenced, under the directions of Local Commissioners, appointed for that purpose, who shall also be a Court of Record for their District, with powers, in conjunction with a Jury, to make presentments and levy rates, for the purpose of carrying the works entrusted to them into execution. There is, moreover, to be an engineer for each district, named by the Board of Works, which Board is to have a large fund placed at its immediate disposal, for the execution of all the additional duties thus imposed upon it. The Board of Improvement is farther to have the power of making provision "for the occupants of cabins, which may be nuisances;" and the way in which this is to be done is worthy of note. The Local Commissioners, above mentioned, are, with a Jury, to present these nuisances, and a certain sum for each, which shall be levied, partly on the *immediate landlord*, and partly on the whole district. The Board of Works then shall, under the directions of the Board of Improvement, let to the occupant of every such cabin a portion of land, reclaimed from the waste, which shall have been allotted to it, and shall assist him to the extent, at least, of the sum presented for his use, in building another cottage.

The Board of Improvement is, moreover, to establish an Agricultural Model School, and district or parochial schools, having four or five acres of land annexed to each, for the purpose of instructing those occupiers of land, who do the work of it themselves, in the most approved methods of farming, and "affording them examples of order and cleanliness and good cottier-hus-

bandry." In subordination to these objects, are provisions for enabling tenants for life to make leases, and to charge the inheritance to a certain extent, subject to the approbation of the Board, with sums expended on lasting improvements. A Fiscal Board is also recommended for every county, to be chosen by those whom they shall be authorised to tax, with the same powers of making presentments for public works as grand juries now possess. The chief object of this proposal is, to ensure the employment of the poor, more than it is now customary to employ them, in local public works, that so, "by a better arrangement, profitable labour may be found for many of the unemployed, at those periods of the year when there is the greatest destitution."

These are the principal suggestions "as to improvement," which are offered in the Report. Some of them are well worthy of attention, being adapted to the circumstances of the country, and to the peculiar necessities of its poor inhabitants. Others we think too easily convertible into jobs, to be safely experimented upon, in a community, whose very virtues lean to jobbing's side. We allude more particularly to the process of getting rid of cabin-nuisances, "at the expense of the county," and of the immediate landlords.* The occupant is to be removed to a station on the reclaimed bog or mountain, and located in a domicile, "at least," *as good as the nuisance* from which he was ejected. There is no provision, in the whole of these arrangements, which appears to us more liable to abuse, than this; nor one which gives so much colour to an imputation, sometimes cast upon the Commissioners, of being more careful to gratify the proprietors of estates, than to relieve, or accommodate the poor straggling appendages of the soil. The allotments nominally appropriated to the Board of Works, for public benefit, would, by this management, be absorbed, in a great measure, if not entirely, in clearing the cultivated and ornamental parts of the country of unsightly or disagreeable neighbours; and that, at a considerable expense, of which, in most cases, no portion

* By "immediate landlords," we presume the report intends a side-blow at the middlemen, who are accused of having brought these redundant swarms of human animals upon the face of the country. They rarely enjoy such a permanent interest in the soil, as to justify the laying a tax upon them, to the entire exemption of the proprietor, for the sake of improving his estate. If it is considered, that, because the middleman may have placed the under-tenant in the cabin, he is, therefore, justly chargeable with the cost of his removal for another's benefit, this is manifestly unjust. For no man ought to be punished by an *ex post facto* law; and, until very lately, a tenant was not forbidden to sub-let his land in small divisions. We have known instances, on the contrary, of tenants having been required, as they valued the good-will of the owner, to make as many Forty-Shilling Freeholders, as their holdings would cut up into. Would it not be a hard case to saddle those men, now, with the expense of clearing away *The Cabin Nuisance*?

whatever would be defrayed by the person receiving the greatest ultimate advantage from such removal.

Viewing the whole plan, however, in its general adaptation to the proposed object, it would be a narrow and ignorant ground of objection to say, that a proposition cannot be good for the poor, because it has a manifest tendency to serve the rich. Nothing can be more false, or more inimical to social order or happiness, than such a notion. To give real security and contentment to any one great division of a community, the whole must be rendered secure and contented: and in Ireland especially, for whose soil "nature has done so much and man so little," it seems impossible, without violating the laws and rights of property, to devise any plan of improving the condition of the people "through the business of agriculture," without, at the same time, benefitting the owners of the land. But is this an objection? No:—Quite the contrary. It is the strongest recommendation we can conceive of any system of agricultural employment, that it is calculated to advance the interests of all classes concerned or connected with that pursuit. It is only when the effects remain in the exclusive enjoyment of the landlord, whilst the labourers, who contribute to his prosperity, are cut off from any permanent advantages arising from it, that the public has a right to complain. Such was the case with respect to the Government Loans, advanced, some years ago, to private gentlemen, as trustees, for the employment of the poor in their respective neighbourhoods. Of public funds, distributed and applied in that way, Mr. Revans says no more than the truth, when he affirms, that "ninety-nine pounds will go to increase rent-rolls, for every pound that benefits the poorer classes." But very different results might naturally be looked for under the regulations of a well ordered and defined system, checked by the vigilant control of popular inspection.

Our objections, then, to this proposed Board of Improvement, with its numerous dependencies and operations, have no connection with any invidious feeling against the owners of property. Nor, in fact, do we absolutely oppose it. There are many excellent and useful suggestions in this plan, which may be adopted with great advantage both to the country at large, and to the labouring and industrious classes in particular: and when a legal provision is made for the able-bodied poor, we doubt not there will be a general desire for the adoption of these, or similar, methods of employing them, according to the view of the Commissioners, so as to "improve property at the expense of the property improved." The landlords, as soon as they feel it to be

their own interest that the poor should be fully and profitably occupied, (and a Poor Law will soon bring the knowledge home to them,) will, of their own free motion, bethink them of extensive and permanent sources of employment; and if they require Acts of Parliament to facilitate such undertakings, and reduce them to a general system, they will readily obtain them. In the mean time, however, we see no good purpose it can serve, to encumber this grave question with plans and projects, which can, with propriety, only be considered as supplemental to a fixed provision for the poor, and by no means as proper to be substituted in its place. For the great evil of the present state of our poor, which consists in the uncertainty of any permanent resting place for them, and the consequent desperation and tenacity, with which they adhere to "*the bit of land*,"—that fruitful source of disaffection and agrarian outrage,—remains scarcely touched by this system of improvement. Nay, by fostering and encouraging their agricultural taste, without giving any security for its permanent gratification and enjoyment, the mischief might be enhanced; and thus, English capital, and skill, and industry, to the introduction of which we look for eventual prosperity, would be frightened as far as ever from our shores.

In the same class, and liable to the same objections, we are disposed to place the new and increased powers and duties proposed to be given to the Board of Works, with respect to the prosecution of public works of various kinds, enumerated in the Report. Such matters, however, we throw aside for the present, not as being unimportant, or of little value in themselves, but because they tend to mystify the simple question,—*Is Ireland to have a Poor Law?*

The Commissioners answer this question in the affirmative. But how?—To what extent are they willing to afford the benefits of direct relief?

They would make compulsory rates for the relief and support, within the walls of public institutions, of lunatics, idiots, epileptic persons, cripples, deaf and dumb, and blind poor, and all who labour under permanent bodily infirmities; also, for the relief of the sick poor, in hospitals, or out of doors, as the necessity of their several cases may require; also, for the purpose of emigration, for the support of penitentiaries, to which vagrants may be sent, and for the maintenance of deserted children; also towards the relief of aged and infirm persons, of orphans, of helpless widows with young children, of the families of sick persons, and of those who are suffering from casual destitution. This is the utmost relief which they are prepared to recommend, of that

species which is commonly understood, and expected, as proceeding from a Poor Law; and this, we say without hesitation,—*this will not do.*

A difference of opinion exists between the Commissioners, whether the amount of relief, which they propose for the last-named class of sufferers, should be levied by legal compulsion, or left, in part, to the voluntary benevolence of the public; and hence it is, that they speak of making provision, and levying rates, "*to-wards*" their relief. We think the enormous pile of damning facts, which they have collected for their own information, and for that of the public, should have been sufficient to keep them unanimous on that point. What relief, worthy to be called so, do the aged and infirm, the orphans, the helpless widows with young children, the families of the sick, or the casually destitute, receive from voluntary charity in Ireland? There is, indeed, much spontaneous dispensation of alms practised in Ireland, and the value of the charity thus bestowed, chiefly by the smaller farmers and cottiers, is estimated at a very large amount. Those of the Commissioners, who are advocates of the voluntary system, loosely state it as being, "on the most moderate computation, from one to two millions." To be sure, there is a vast difference, especially in so poor a country, between the two sums: but suppose that a million is annually expended, we should rather say wasted, in this manner, we cannot see, in such a fact, grounds for expecting that the same amount, or any thing like it, would be placed by the persons, who now distribute it, at the disposal of a Central Board, or handed over to local associations for a similar purpose. By far the largest proportion of these benefactions is dealt out to wandering mendicants, who go from door to door, craving "something for God's sake." It is rarely offered, or given, to the poor of the same neighbourhood, who do not beg, and many of whom are in greater distress, and known to be so, than the wandering beggar. At least, we should say, that not to one-tenth of the extent that unknown vagrants are relieved, is aid afforded, by the same class of persons, to needy and destitute cabin-keepers.

We would be the last to detract from the merits of our struggling countrymen, who, out of their own penury and want, still have

"A heart for pity, and a hand
Open as day to melting charity."

If the kind and benevolent feeling were not warm and active in their breasts, to constrain them to acts of compassion, when the stranger stood upon their threshold, they would doubtless close the door against him. But the fact we have mentioned, that they do not go in quest of distress, nor tender assistance,

while it remains passive and uncomplaining, is a sufficient evidence to us, that the alms-giving, for which they are celebrated, is not of that purely voluntary kind which would prompt them, under other circumstances, to come forward with their contributions. The ancient custom of hospitality has a considerable share in their bountiful conduct to strangers. An Irishman considers it a dishonour to turn away a stranger hungry from his hearth. On the same principle are they influenced by the dread of "*The Beggar's Curse*," which is connected partly with those rites so sacred in the eyes of every primitive people, and partly with that religious sentiment, which teaches that, as "the blessing of Him that was ready to perish" is precious, so, and in the same degree, are his maledictions tremendous. We do not, in reality, attribute too great importance to this awful ban, when we say, that the fear of it often compels the good house-wife to open her little store, which otherwise she would prefer to keep unbroken for the satisfaction of claims dearer, and far more sacred, than those of the sturdy beggar. There is also frequently mingled with these feelings a consideration of prudence, and, if we may call it so, of police, which counsels the farmers to buy protection from pillage and wanton mischief, to which the exposed state of their hen-roosts, potato-pits and cow-houses, renders them so tempting a prey: and though this, and some other reflections which we have made, may seem to place the sympathy, so honourably evinced by our poor countrymen towards those who are a little worse off in the world than themselves, on too low a ground; yet, we are sure that they have each its distinct operation, in producing effects so creditable to their character as a people. But there is yet, above all these, a constraint, originating in positive religious obligation, which makes alms-giving a duty, so long as there continues a necessity and an opportunity of exercising it; a duty at once, and an exercise of virtue, from which they cannot shrink; which their Church, no less than their divine lawgiver, requires of them; and for which they can claim no other merit, than that of having discharged a great and imperative obligation. And is not this compulsion? Certainly a happy necessity—an elevated and dignified compulsion; but still a compulsion; and a compulsion which taxes the best part of society, while the shameless, the heartless, and the profane, are suffered to go free.

What, then—would we repress or damp this willingness to communicate and impart of their scanty store, which constitutes so noble a peculiarity in the character of the Irish peasantry? No—Heaven forbid! We only wish that it were diffused equally, and under a better regulation, through all classes; and that its call were as prevailing, and its knock as loud, at the castles of

the great, as upon the cottage-doors of the poor. But we would, at the same time, show, by explaining the various inducements which render it effective, as a means of assistance to one class of sufferers, how little it can be relied on, as a principle applicable to the necessities of all the poor, and to be called into play in connexion with a systematic provision for their relief.

We heed not the sentimental cant, with which many interested, and some well-meaning persons, meet the proposition of a legal assessment. They are apprehensive, forsooth, that the kindly and generous feelings, which form the basis of voluntary benevolence, will be utterly dissolved, and melt away before the constraint of the law; and that the amiable dispositions and sensibilities of the Irish character are in danger of being obliterated, by being brought into contact with any other kind of obligation. They think it as absurd to require humanity, as Falstaff did to expect truth, "upon compulsion;" and they would, perhaps, stand aghast if they were told, what is, nevertheless, true, that the charity, which they would fain portray in such ethereal and unearthly guise, coincides, in all its distinctive qualities, with the poet's loose conception of the most gross and vicious form of earthly passion:—

"Love free as air, at sight of human ties,
Spreads his light wings, and in a moment flies."

There might be something like reason in what they say, if men were, or ought to be, the mere toys of impulse, moved or blown about, in every situation, by their feelings, without the rule of judgment. But when we apply such romantic jargon to the deliberate consideration of a most solemn and serious duty, it becomes not only ridiculous, but in a very high degree culpable; being injurious alike to the true moral sense, and to the interests which it is brought forward to serve.

With respect to the practice of voluntary alms-giving in Ireland—as far as it proceeds from motives of pure benevolence and religious duty—which we are sure it does, in numerous instances—we have no fear—there are, indeed, no grounds for fearing—that the force of those sentiments would be weakened by a legal provision for the poor; but, at the same time, we are as firmly convinced that the relief now distributed through their impulse and suggestion, would not be rendered spontaneously available to the purposes, or amenable to the rules, of such voluntary associations as the Report contemplates. On the other hand, if the charity called "Voluntary" be extorted in any instances—and we are sure it is in many—by improper importunity, by terror, by the exhibition of fictitious distress and exaggerated misery, if it be lavished without discrimination or reflection, and do, in fact, cherish and

perpetuate the evil which it is meant to remove, then, the sooner that kind of benevolence is got rid of the better. Finally, whether the principle be mixed, or purely charitable, whether it be such as deserves unqualified encouragement, or such as would be improved by correction and reform, experience proves, that it is not to be relied on, as adequate to the distresses of the poor, or sufficient to enforce their claims upon the community at large. Does this voluntary benevolence stimulate those who witness it, to go and do in like manner? Does it melt those to pity who have no pity? Does it thaw the icy heart of the miser, subdue the forestaller, arouse the heedless, or shame the unfeeling? No; but it relieves them from the necessity of giving any thing. It saves them, as well as their benevolent neighbours, from pillage. It keeps the destitute and importunate from their doors. It acts as a direct bounty upon selfishness and inhumanity, while it taxes the good, in exact proportion to their goodness.

If it served no other beneficial purpose, than to break through the unmerited exemption, which such heartless beings enjoy, and to preserve the morals of the public from the evil infection of their example, they should be made contributory, along with their more free-hearted neighbours, to the maintenance of the poor. It is neither justice nor good policy to suffer them any longer to escape.

The reliance, which the majority of the Commissioners appear to place in the spontaneous charity of persons in a higher rank of life, can best be estimated by the knowledge of what that charity is and has been. There are many excellent institutions, for the benefit of poor persons, in Ireland, supported by gratuitous contributions, and supported well. Such are the several Asylums for Female Penitents, Orphan Societies, Schools, at which poor children, not orphans, are clothed and fed, as well as taught, Asylums for the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, and various other beneficent establishments. But all these—at least the exceptions are not important—are connected with one or other of the prevailing modes of religious belief. They are severally maintained at the expense, and for the exclusive benefit, of Protestants or of Catholics; and to some of those belonging to the former, places of worship are attached, at which doctrines are constantly promulgated, the most intolerant, and most repugnant, in our opinion, to the spirit of universal love, which should form the basis and mainspring of all charitable institutions.

These establishments are maintained in affluence, by “the religious zeal” of their respective contributors; and their flourishing condition presents a most remarkable contrast to the struggling existence, which institutions of acknowledged utility, de-

signed for the relief of paupers, without any religious distinction, are enabled to drag out. The bankrupt state of "the Mendicity Institutions of Dublin, Limerick, Newry, Birr, Sligo, Waterford, and Londonderry," is appealed to by the three Commissioners who differ from their associates, in confirmation of their statement, that "where voluntary associations for the relief of the most helpless poor have been organized, and directed with great skill, and a degree of perseverance which the purest benevolence could alone support, these institutions have not only failed in providing for the necessities of their respective districts, but in inducing the majority of wealthy proprietors and inhabitants to contribute to the support of institutions so meritorious, and so freed from even a suspicion of blame." Now, Mendicity Associations are the only institutions known in Ireland for the exclusive relief of absolute pauperism. If, therefore, the Voluntary Principle were in any case to be trusted as an efficient help to the destitute poor, it would show itself in the support of these associations. But we see that it is efficient only in combination with strong religious prepossessions, of a kind which it would be impossible, even if it were not most improper, to excite, in cases which, like the present, should admit of no distinctions, except between the greater sufferer and the less. The difficulty, indeed, of removing or stifling such prepossessions, is, perhaps, not the least among the causes of that apathy, with which the efforts of a few benevolent philanthropists, to prolong the existence of the excellent institutions to which we have referred, are generally received. For years, they have been kept alive by a system of menace and importunity, not more painful to humanity, than disgraceful to the community, where it is necessary to have recourse to such means in such a cause. How constantly are the newspapers filled with urgent remonstrances and appeals? How often are lists published and circulated, displaying, in different columns, the names of those who contribute, and of those who do not? How often has the threat been repeated, of turning the inmates of those abodes of misery loose upon the world? How often has the day been fixed for parading the aged, the feeble, the deformed, the halt, the blind, in reproachful procession, through the streets and squares of our proud Metropolis? It is thus that charity is extorted, like drops of blood, from an inconsiderable number of the inhabitants of our towns; and this is the best, the most illustrious, specimen of *Voluntary Benefactions* for the Relief of Pauperism, which the advocates of that system can bring forward, to give the world assurance of their plan.*

* In a late number of the Limerick Chronicle, we find the following public appeal, by which it appears, that even the dread of a spreading and pestilential disease, now

Oh, but we are told that the voluntary system answers most admirably in Scotland, and that it has been found to diminish the expense of maintaining the poor in that country, in a very remarkable manner. The Scotch are an understanding and calculating people; they undertake nothing without well counting the cost; and hence they seldom engage in any plan which they do not execute carefully and with effect. There is no race of men to whom the working out of the Voluntary System, if they once took it up with a firm purpose, might be more safely committed. For their habits and character are equally against a hasty adoption of an unexamined principle, and in favour of a fair and patient trial, after they have resolved to adopt it. If in some Scotch parishes, it has been agreed to try the method of

raging in that city, is not sufficient to stimulate the charity of the affluent to come forward to the relief of the hapless inmates of the Fever Hospital; although the "expenditure for each patient, from the time of admission to his discharge, does not exceed nine shillings and sixpence!" The reader will perceive, that the Committee of the Institution are endeavouring to spur the Voluntary Benevolence of their fellow townsmen, à l'Ecossoise, by threatening to call for a Board of Health, at "a most enormous expense to the city." We shall be curious to know the result of this appeal to the bosoms of the Limerick Gentry.—*Adhuc cessat voluntas?*

"PUBLIC APPEAL.—FEVER HOSPITAL.—The Committee, on a review of the Registry of the Limerick Fever Hospital, exhibiting as it does an admission of 2833 Patients, from the 6th of January last to the present period, which, added to the numbers remaining on that day, 112, forms an aggregate of 2915 for that time on the Hospital books; and, finding the continued prevalence of Fever of a most contagious nature, are called upon to state to the public these melancholy facts, and at the same time to express their feelings that, without a considerable increase of funds, it will not be in their power to continue the blessings of this Institution to the numerous afflicted poor of this city and the surrounding districts.

"The Committee, in making this appeal to the public, feel a pride in stating, that in no institution have the funds been managed with more economy; this will at once be observed by the simple fact, that, with every expense attendant throughout the establishment, the average expenditure for each patient, from the time of admission to his discharge, has not hitherto exceeded nine shillings and sixpence.

"The Committee regret, however, although the average expenditure is so moderate, that the balance now in the Treasurer's hands will not suffice for more than a few weeks; and, therefore, in placing those melancholy facts before a humane and benevolent public, confidently call upon them for effective support in the furtherance of this great call of charity.

"The Committee cannot conclude this part of their report, without impressing upon all classes of the community, how intimately connected with their individual safety is the upholding of this institution. Surely, if the Committee is obliged, from want of funds, to close the doors, Fever, hitherto concentrated within the walls of the hospital, must unavoidably visit the houses of all, and spread general desolation throughout this district.

"The Committee feel it a duty to state, that, unless the public come forward, and liberally contribute on this occasion, they will have to choose between two alternatives, either to close the hospital, or call for a Board of Health, agreeably to the 58th Geo. III. which would be attended with a most enormous expense to the city. To relieve suffering humanity, the Committee feel bound; they, therefore, implore the public to prevent an adoption of the latter alternative, which, in the event of necessity, they must submit to."

self-taxation, in preference to that of assessment, we have no doubt of their steadiness and integrity, in making it serve the purposes both of economy, as regards themselves, and of attention to the comforts of the poor. But what is the real nature of the boasted Voluntary System of our Scottish neighbours? They make their election, not between giving and not giving, but between giving upon compulsion, and giving voluntarily; for one or the other they must do. The illustration is somewhat hackneyed, of *the Beggar in Gil Blas*; but it is a case strictly in point. Such voluntary benevolence is—" *La Charité des fidèles effrayés.*"

"The Scotch System," says Mr. Revans, "is always adduced as an instance of the advantages of the voluntary over the compulsory system. Those, who are so loud in their praises of the Scotch system, seem to have forgotten that the advantages are more likely in the mode of administering, than in the mode of raising, the fund. It does not appear to me, however, that any one knows much about the Scotch system; many pretend to the knowledge, but I suspect its worth. I have seen how completely the facts were at variance with the assertions, made relative to England and Ireland, previously to the searching enquiries undertaken by the government; but even admitting all that is claimed for the administration in Scotland, and that the administration depends on the mode of collection, I can only say that the collection is, to all intents and purposes, a compulsory collection. The law says, if you do not give sufficient, you shall be assessed. This is much of the sort of request which a civil highwayman makes, when he lets you see that, if civility wont do, force will be applied. The Voluntary system is the English system, if the English please to adopt it. The law only directs the overseer to raise by assessment whatever is required for the poor; it does not direct him to refuse voluntary contributions. If, therefore, a few foolish people in a parish choose to relieve their neighbours from their fair share of the contribution, they may indulge their kindly propensities, without any risk of interference from the law. Our Northern neighbours, who are not the least shrewd people of the Three Kingdoms, are beginning to discover that their voluntary system is excellent for relieving the uncharitable at the expense of the charitable,—a mere illustration of working the willing horse to death; and they are, consequently, very generally adopting assessment."

The Scotch system, then, in two words, is no more than this: They tax themselves, to avoid being taxed. His Majesty's Commissioners may call this "voluntary" if they please; but then, so is the English system, as Mr. Revans well observes, voluntary too; for if the parishioners agree, among themselves, to obviate the necessity of an assessment, there is nothing to prevent them. The Scotch Poor Law is, in fact, the same as the 43d of Elizabeth, with this difference in the machinery by which it is

worked, that it is administered by the minister and elders of the parish in Scotland, and by magistrates and overseers in England. The former, also, we believe, assume a kind of discretionary power, for which, however, they are responsible, of determining who are worthy objects of relief. But the legal compulsion to maintain the poor exists, and can be enforced, in every instance, where it is improperly resisted.

We have not left ourselves room to go into the consideration of the Scotch system as closely or minutely as we could have wished. But the general principle of it, which has been correctly stated, disposes of the argument for instituting a voluntary scheme of relief, upon that precedent; for we see that there is nothing in it which may strictly be termed voluntary, except the choice between assessment and a self-imposed rate.

Besides the direct measures of relief recommended by the Report, there are other suggestions for preserving the labouring class from falling into that absolute pauperism, which results either from evil habits, or from the want of a little timely assistance on occasions of pressing need. To meet the latter case, in particular districts, loan funds are proposed; which, if carefully administered, would certainly be capable of affording much useful help to the industrious poor. They would, in fact, be found most advantageous, as adjuncts to a general system of relief, by fostering that spirit of independent exertion, which it would then, more than ever, be essential to encourage. They would also teach the common people the value of a good character, and enable them to derive advantage from those provident habits, which, in their present unhappy circumstances, seem to make little or no difference in their actual condition.

Another circumstance, to which the Report adverts, as "one of the most prolific, assuredly the most pernicious, causes of Irish misery," is the inordinate use of ardent spirits. This is a habit which, in common with the Commissioners, we fear that "direct legislation cannot reach;" for to attain a radical and effectual cure, "the patient must minister unto himself." But we concur with them in the opinion, that a great temptation to it may be removed by putting an end to the sale of spirits on *Sundays*. In towns more particularly, the dissolute and wasteful habits, which cause so much of the sufferings of labourers and artisans, take their rise from the practice of Sunday tippling. The most confirmed drunkard, if he is obliged to earn his bread, abstains from indulgence on the days that he is at work; and it seldom happens, that, during the latter part of the week, at least, he is found to deviate, in any great degree, from the rules of temperance. But when Sunday releases him from toil, he finds the door of the

dram-shop open; and he is unable to resist the temptation. The latter half of that day is commonly devoted to the degrading and pauperising indulgence, which is there prepared for him; the following morning generally finds him in the same place; nor can he withdraw from its fascination so long as any portion of the previous week's earnings remains undissipated. The clause in Mr. O'Loghlen's Spirit License Act, which compels publicans to keep their houses closed till seven o'clock on Monday morning, has contributed much to induce workmen to return to their employment on that day, instead of wasting it at the dram-shop; and we are confident, that if effectual measures were taken to keep them from it, on the whole of Sunday, they would be much less disposed, than many of them still are, to carry their habits of intemperance into the middle of the week. On this point, the cooperation of the Catholic clergy may be of infinite use. Bishop Abraham, of Waterford and Lismore, is said to have proposed a rule of discipline in his diocese, restraining the sale or use of strong drink, on Sundays and holydays. We have not been able to ascertain whether it has yet come into operation. It was to be submitted, *pro formâ*, to the judgment of the parochial clergy; and hence a delay may have occurred in reducing it to practice. If, however, the other spiritual directors of the people would join their authority to that of Dr. Abraham, (and that they will do so, if they shall deem it feasible, and within the legitimate bounds of their jurisdiction, we cannot doubt) more would be done towards reforming the manners of the people in this respect, and consequently towards improving their condition, than the united power and wisdom of the legislature could effect in a century.

We have now gone through the principal topics, which constitute the plan of relief recommended by the Commissioners; and stated wherein we concur in their suggestions, and wherein we think they ought not, or, on account of the difficulties they present, cannot, with any reasonable prospect of success, be adopted. It remains that we briefly state what measures of relief appear to us to be the most eligible, with reference to the necessities and means of the country, and to their probable effects upon the moral and physical condition of the people.

Although distress prevails in Ireland to an extent, and in a degree, unparalleled in any other civilized part of the world, it is worthy of remark that the poor are nevertheless supplied with food, and moreover, that, unless in seasons of dearth or scarcity, they are supplied with it in quantities at least sufficient to sustain life. In ordinary years, they are fed and supported out of the produce of the land: and so liberal and so easily obtained is the supply, at such times, that we have often known strolling mendi-

cants to turn from the doors of respectable houses, annoyed and disappointed at being offered potatoes or broken victuals, instead of the penny or the half-penny which they expected to receive.

We have already remarked that the voluntary benefactions, distributed in Ireland, may be estimated at more than one million annually, perhaps two: and we are inclined to believe that, in hard years, the money value of these gratuitous distributions even exceeds that amount, though the actual relief afforded falls infinitely short of what the judicious application of such a sum might dispense. The greater part of this bounty is absolutely thrown away. In many instances, it is given to those who do not want it, or who might, by honest labour, and abstinence from habits of profligacy and vice, contrive to do without it. The character or need of the applicant is, in fact, rarely taken into account, in determining his claim. No inquiry is ever made; but the idle, the dishonest, and the dissolute, have, and are aware that they have, as good a chance of obtaining a full share of the relief thus distributed, as those who are the victims of misfortune, or have fallen into distress through casualties, which neither virtue nor industry could avert. The consequence of this indiscriminate mode of charity is most pernicious both to "him that gives, and him that takes." For it confirms the one in his lazy and disreputable mode of life; and invites to the door of the other, the still increasing shoals of importunate depredators, whom his inconsiderate munificence inspires with fresh hopes and renewed activity.

But if the same amount of charity, which is thus worse than wasted, were made available to the relief of distress—real and unavoidable distress,—and placed under proper systematic regulation for that purpose, it would go far towards such a provision as is necessary for our poor. Suppose a million sterling pounds were annually collected into a public fund, to be applied, according to a fixed code of regulations, for the relief and aid of the really necessitous, it is a question if more would be required for *all the purposes* connected with that object. And would it not appear wonderful, if it should be ascertained, upon experiment, that Ireland, this abode of wretchedness, of indigence, and of starvation, has been for years in the custom of lavishing, in heedless, misplaced, and ineffectual bounty, a store sufficient to prevent the whole of the extreme misery of its people?

Nor is this, however striking, altogether beyond belief. It is a common thing, to see families in the receipt of a large income, living in a state of comparative indigence, without any apparent cause, except a want of management. Thus one man will keep his carriage, receive his friends, and, in all respects, maintain a

style suitable to his rank in society, while his next neighbour, perhaps, with an equal expenditure, and not a larger establishment, can hardly make a decent appearance in the streets. We see instances of this every day; and something of the same kind happens with regard to the hospitality and bounty dealt out to the poor in Ireland. It is run through, without method, and "in a slobbering way." Our advice, therefore, is, that it should be brought together, placed under judicious and responsible management, and applied, in the most effectual, as well as the most economical, manner, to purposes of real utility and benevolence. Of course, we do not mean, that the same persons, or class of persons, who now bestow this amount of misapplied relief, should be looked to as the only, or the principal, contributors to the fund, which we propose to substitute in its room; but merely that, as the land now actually supports the poor, so the land should continue to yield that support, in conjunction with such assistance from other descriptions of property, and from the State, as shall be considered both expedient and just.

And in what form would we administer this support? Experience tells of but one safe and effectual mode of administering it to those who are capable, if they had the opportunities, of earning a subsistence; and that mode is, through the *Workhouse or Asylum*. It affords them necessary sustenance and shelter, when these cannot be obtained elsewhere, while it puts them upon their own resources to seek both, by personal industry and exertions. It is stated in the Report, and we hear it repeated in numerous quarters, that the Irish labourer does not require to be put on his own resources; that he is most anxious to work from sunrise to sunset, for a bare sufficiency of the meanest and poorest food, and, consequently, that he is always on the look-out for opportunities of turning his labour to advantage, without the stimulus of a workhouse. This is all true, with respect to the actual present condition of our peasantry; but, at the same time, there is a reckless improvidence belonging to their character, which tends to aggravate the sufferings of the most helpless, and to repress the spirit of constant and persevering exertion, by which alone men surrounded with great difficulties may hope to extricate themselves. We are quite sure, that this habit of mind is produced in our poor countrymen by the generally insurmountable nature of the difficulties in which they are involved, and that it occupies the place of that sullen despondency, which, in similar circumstances, would oppress the minds of a less patient or less light-hearted people. But it exists; and though it is, on many accounts, infinitely preferable to the gloomy disposition which precludes exertion, it certainly produces much mischief. It is

different, it is true, in its effects upon the animal spirits; yet it operates, equally with despair, in shutting out hope, that great stimulant to industry, and in clouding the prospect of to-morrow, (if they ever look so far before them) with the same dark fortune, which overshadows to-day. Hence, they live *de die in diem*; not exactly waiting upon Providence, but throwing themselves heedlessly upon its care; while the idea of husbanding the advantages, or profiting by the occasions, of the passing moment, is never entertained.

It may be thought that such a disposition would be rather fostered than discountenanced, by opening a refuge for the thriftless in the workhouse. And so it would, if a door of hope, affording a glimpse, however faint and distant, of independence, through profitable employment, were not opened to them, at the same time. If, indeed, the relief thus afforded should have the effect, on the one hand, of giving the labouring class a relish for the sort of life which they would lead in those asylums, or, on the other hand, of forcing such numbers into artificial and useless employment, as to lessen the price of labour below its present miserable standard, the workhouses would be crowded beyond all calculation; and the high estimates of the Commissioners, for the charge of erecting and maintaining them, would no longer be liable to censure, as excessive or extravagant.

But it has not been proposed that the workhouse should be made so pleasant an abode, as to tempt any one to come to it, or to stay in it, unless under the constraint of strong necessity. Food it should supply, and covering, and shelter from the cold; but little they know of the spirit of an Irish peasant, who suppose that he would willingly accept these, in exchange for the unquestioned freedom of his movements. Among the restraints of the *Coercion Act*, none were found more generally irksome and intolerable, than that which compelled every man to keep within doors from an hour after sunset, until day-light on the following morning. Yet that was only a confinement to their own houses and in the society of their families: and how much more distressing, therefore, would it be, to be shut up under the eye and voice of a master clothed with authority over them, and necessarily controlling their movements every hour of the day and night?

No exemption from toil could reconcile the Irish labourer, for any lengthened period, to such a species of duress: extreme want and emergency alone could induce him to submit to it, even for a short time. Still, as we have already intimated, he is not so rash and impatient, as to reject relief altogether, on account of its disagreeable concomitants, when it is made plain to that shrewd judgment which he possesses, that the tendency of the

measure is, to secure him against being abandoned to chance and his own unaided resources, for the means of subsistence: and, therefore, if, on the one hand, it appears not unlikely that he will sadly accept that provision, as a medicine, bitter indeed, but wholesome; on the other, it appears equally clear, that he will not resort to it for the purposes of indolence, nor consent to remain in it longer than necessity shall compel him. He will go there because employment, such as he can live by, cannot be obtained: he will leave it the moment it can—not sooner; and thus the workhouse will prove the true “Board of Improvement” after all.

Mr. Revans is of opinion, that there should be, in every district of a hundred square miles, a workhouse capable of receiving 200 inmates: thus placing an asylum within a distance of five miles of every person in Ireland. The area of Ireland will give 500 such districts; so that he would have that number of houses, at a cost which he estimates under £2000 for each. This would not amount altogether to a million, instead of the four millions, at which the Commissioners of Poor Inquiry rate the cost of the buildings.

We do not think it would be advisable to have so many distinct buildings. The expense both of providing, and afterwards of maintaining, them, would be considerably less, if the distances were doubled, and a house capable of accommodating, let us say, eight hundred persons, were provided for every space of four hundred square miles. A house of this description could be substantially constructed for £7000; and a saving of, at least, two-thirds, would be effected in the permanent charges for management, besides a considerable proportional reduction in the expenditure for maintaining the pauper inmates. The only good reason assigned by Mr. Revans, for having the houses so near to each other as ten miles, is, to take away an excuse for vagrancy, which he thinks would exist, if they were much further apart. For, in that case, “a person, feigning great fatigue, sickness, infirmity, or a woman having young children with her, would certainly obtain alms, as it would be cruel to refuse relief, when those who seek it are evidently incapable of reaching an asylum.” That inconvenience, however, might be easily remedied, by giving a power to Churchwardens or Magistrates, in the remote parts of a district, to hire a proper vehicle, for conveying to the asylum all persons requiring such assistance—the owner of the vehicle to be paid by an order on the master of the workhouse.

The means of constructing these buildings should be supplied, in the first instance, by advances out of the Consolidated Fund, to be repaid by the several counties, according to the usual

course, without interest, and by instalments of five per cent., until all be returned. It is supposed that a sum of £700,000 would be sufficient to defray the building expenses, the repayment of which, in annual payments of five per cent. would be £35,000, for 20 years, being little more than £1000 a-year, during that period, upon each of the thirty-two counties, into which Ireland is divided.

With respect to the charge of maintaining them, the amount, of course, must depend on the number of poor persons who would apply for admission; and would vary considerably in different places, and at different times. There is, however, even in the present state of things, an average employment for the whole of the labourers in Ireland, of about twenty-two weeks, of six working days each.* During so much of the year, then, it is fair to suppose, that the workhouses will be universally untenanted by able-bodied poor; and Mr. Revans calculates, that, "if the food given in the houses of refuge be not far better than that which is ordinarily possessed by the peasantry, the whole of the houses, in the counties forming the east coast, from Antrim to Waterford, will, during the greater portion of the year, contain only widows, orphans, aged persons, and now and then a few ejected tenants, or labourers who cannot obtain employment."

The quality of the food, provided for the poor in the Houses of Refuge, need not be "far better than that ordinarily possessed" by persons in their rank of life. In England, the paupers are dieted on wheaten bread, with meat once or twice a week, and soup at other times. It would be absurd to introduce such fare into an Irish workhouse, which would be better, not only than their usual diet, but than the customary fare at the tables of those who are reputed "strong farmers." But we would not recommend a niggardly or mean dispensation of food, which would be alike injurious to the effect designed by the establishment of these institutions, and unjust towards the poor persons who were reduced to the misfortune of seeking relief within their walls. A popular aversion to the workhouse would be just as mischievous a sentiment, as too great a relish and enjoyment of its hospitality. For it is most essential to the effective working of a Poor Law, that the poor themselves shall feel assured that it was meant for their benefit; and they can hardly entertain such a confidence, if they are treated with unnecessary rigour or parsimony. Their situation, in the liberal custody of the Board of Guardians, should, therefore, be rendered as comfortable as might be found compatible with the great object of promoting a love of indepen-

In Connaught, the average is short of sixteen weeks.

dence, and a willingness to exert themselves in order to obtain it. They should not be supplied with tea, or other things which are accounted luxuries among them; but of simple and wholesome food let them have enough.

The expense of maintaining a pauper in the Mendicity Institution of Dublin, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per day; and the Commissioners have made their calculations at the same rate, for the support of every pauper, who might require to be maintained in an asylum in any part of Ireland: so that the support of a labourer's family, at the low average of five persons, would stand the community in 7s. $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per week. This is evidently a most exaggerated estimate. Mr. Revans is much nearer the mark when he says, that, where numbers were fed together, it might be done at sixpence a week for each person. In fact, he shows, that, in England, where provisions of every kind are so much dearer, and the quality of food supplied so far superior to any thing contemplated for Ireland, a shilling, and a fraction of a penny, is the average cost of maintaining a pauper in a workhouse. Assuming, then, that sixpence a-week will be sufficient for the same purpose in Ireland, and that the number of able-bodied claimants on the public bounty, including their families, will on no occasion exceed 400,000, he demonstrates, that £500,000 would be sufficient to support all these through the whole period of the year.

Our next question is, Where is this sum, this annual supply for the relief of the poor, to come from? If, as has been computed, the land now contributes upwards of a million annually for the relief of the poor, it seems no great hardship, to require from it about half that amount in a regular shape; and we would suggest, accordingly, that each district of a workhouse, containing, as we have proposed, 400 square miles, be assessed for the support of its own poor within that asylum.

Objections, we know, have been raised to *local taxation*, for such a purpose. The benefit proposed is general, the burden is partial or unequal. To suppress vagrancy, and to put down agrarian outrage, are not more the interest of the disorderly and impoverished districts, than of those which are peaceful and prosperous:

“*Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*”

A general rate is therefore spoken of. But if it be one of the most important effects, expected to result from a compulsory Poor Law, that it shall stimulate the rich to find ways and means of employing the labouring class, so that they shall come as little as possible upon the public for relief, that end would be entirely frustrated by the imposition of a general rate. For men

would feel as little disposed to spare a fund, raised by common assessment, as if it were paid from the Concordatum, or the Civil List. The weight of it, indeed, would press upon the owners of property, and it would still become heavier upon each individual, as universal abuse increased. But no man would find his own case the better for his individual attempts to lighten the pressure. The only effect of his doing so, would be to double the load upon himself; whereas, by making the rate local, the owners of property would have a direct interest in every guinea they could save; and this would dispose them not only to abstain from jobbing, for the gratification of private objects, but also to correct and control such practices in their neighbours.

How, then, is this local taxation to be apportioned? If, in any district, there be a landlord, whose tenants are all in comfort and independence, and who gives extensive and constant employment to the labouring class, is *he* to be assessed equally with the proprietor of the neighbouring estate, a spendthrift perhaps, or a miser, whose neglect of his people may have brought the whole district into distress and poverty? An estate, if it be of any considerable extent, so mismanaged as many estates in Ireland have been, not only breeds paupers to prey on its own vitals, but sends them forth in all directions, to infect and oppress its wholesome neighbours. Nay, it frequently happens, that the property of the improvident or hard-hearted landlord has fewer paupers residing upon it, than that of a benevolent and judicious proprietor in the same district. What is to be done in such a case? Is the man, who has starved them out, to escape, and the whole burden of maintaining them to light upon the good Samaritan, who has suffered them to take shelter within his confines?

Again:—Many estates have been “cleared” of the redundant population, without the slightest regard to the fate of the wretches who have been swept away. Are not those outcasts now swelling the ranks of the destitute; and shall they, who reduced them to that condition, profit by the cruelty they have practised, or escape from a share of the burden which they have laid upon the community? Mr. Bicheno, one of the Commissioners, who cannot be charged with forgetting the interests of the landlords, states, and we know it to be true in more instances than one, that—“*The prospect of a Poor Law has already been made a plea for dispossessing many of the poor.*” He makes this an argument against any Poor Law, “lest it should furnish an excuse for ejectment:” and it *would* furnish an excuse, and an inducement too, if such acts were allowed to constitute a plea for exemption from maintaining the poor. That would be at once to confer a reward upon bad landlords, for having deliberately added to the

prevailing poverty and distress, and to offer an encouragement to others to act in a similar manner.

It will doubtless be a grievous thing to force those proprietors, who have always done their duty towards their tenantry, to contribute in equal proportion to repair the mischief, which might have been avoided if others had followed their example. But when society has been reduced to an unsound condition through long mismanagement, and efforts are to be made to restore it, it is not often possible for legislation to discriminate between the evil and the good; and particularly so, when the consequences of the former are inseparably intermixed and wrought through its whole frame and texture. Legislation must, in this case, stand still and attempt nothing, or else comprehend all property alike in the obligations which it is about to impose. For no method of exactly apportioning the burthen to the deserts of those, who must bear it, can be contrived; and the injustice, that would be inflicted by the attempt, would far surpass that which must be tolerated, if the weight were laid equally upon all.

Nor is the hardship of this a new thing. The good landlords are now taxed, and oppressively taxed, for the misconduct of the bad. The heavy and expensive police establishment, which they must assess themselves to support, the large army which their contributions to the indirect taxes help to keep up, for the suppression of discontent in Ireland, and the amount of ill-regulated and misapplied benefactions lavished by the farmers upon the vagrant poor, which are so many drains from the wealth and substance of the land—all these are actual imposts laid upon good landlords, on account of the wasteful, thoughtless, and unfeeling habits of other proprietors. Should the operation of a Poor Law tend to remove or diminish these burthens—as it certainly will, if its provisions be framed on a sufficiently liberal and comprehensive plan—the necessity of supporting the improvidence of others will no longer exist in the same degree; and thus the assistance, which a good landlord may be now required to render for the relief of the unfortunate, will operate in the end, as a positive relief to himself.

Local taxation, we are told, necessarily implies *Settlement*. We cannot see the necessary connexion between them; and if we thought that one must follow the other, we would at once give up local taxation, and consent to a general rate, as a lesser evil than that of Settlement. The abuses and iniquities which flowed upon England out of the maladministration of the Poor Laws, before they were amended, arose from this principle, combined with that of out-door relief, and parochial employment. To it, as to the fabulous bed of the tyrant, the circumstances and ne-

cessities of each parish were required to enlarge or contract themselves, with a rigour which was quite preposterous, and of which the disastrous effects are illustrated in the famous case, already alluded to, of Cholesbury. The constant struggle between the ratepayer and the pauper, in the efforts of one to prevent, and the other to obtain, a settlement, produced ill-will, fraud, and artifices, destructive to the moral character of the people. Endless litigation ensued between parishes; the spirit of provident industry was repressed and discountenanced; undeserved hardship and vexation were practised towards the poor, and all this through the operation of this unwise law. It has been retained, as a part of the amended Poor Law,—for what good reason we cannot exactly discern: although, by the abolition of out-door relief, it is deprived of much of its power to do harm. But it is a very different thing to retain an established usage in a community, where it has long existed, and become in some degree, perhaps, interwoven with the popular habits, and to adopt it, *as a new principle*, in a country where it would be alike repugnant to the tastes and customs, and incompatible with the productive pursuits and resources, of the people.

By interfering with the distribution of labour, according to the demand, Settlement has been found very injurious in various parts of England, and has produced many of those instances of discouragement to frugality and foresight, which we have latterly heard cited against the principle of any Poor Law. There are two instances, mentioned in Mr. Chadwick's Report, of good workmen having, from their wages and by other means, saved enough to give them a prospect of independence. One of them had put by £70, and had, besides, two cows and a number of pigs. The other had two cows, a well furnished house, a pig, and some fowls. Their employer, having no farther need of their services, discharged them; and, although they were both excellent workmen, they found it impossible to procure employment. Through a desire, on the part of the ratepayers, to keep down assessment, "paupers were preferred to these men, and they could only qualify themselves for employment by becoming paupers themselves." They would have sought work elsewhere, but were not allowed to go into any other parish, lest they should gain a settlement there. We mention these cases thus particularly, because similar ones have been brought forward for the purpose of exciting a popular opposition to a Poor Law, when, in truth, they only furnish arguments against the principle of Settlement, a principle which no person, at all acquainted with the customs and necessities of the people, could ever think of proposing in a system of Poor Relief for Ireland. Migration is

indispensable for the subsistence of a large portion of our population; it is no less so, at particular seasons, for the most important and necessary operations of husbandry; and it would therefore be the greatest cruelty and folly to impose restrictions upon it.

The three Commissioners who dissent from their brethren, as to the voluntary system of relief recommended in the Report, state, as one of their grounds of opposition, that it would introduce the System of Settlement; "and we confess," they add, "we cannot contemplate any modification of that system, which could possibly lead to the curtailment of the privilege of free migration, hitherto enjoyed by the Irish poor,—a privilege, which the evidence of a former Report, proves to have afforded not only a means of support to the industrious labourer, but the only hope of existence to a class too numerous, and too virtuous, not to be objects of the deepest interest to every benevolent mind."

But how, if there is to be no such thing as parochial or district settlement, are certain districts, possessing peculiar local attractions for the poor, to be protected against an influx of pauper strangers, to prey upon the rate-payers of those districts? To this we answer, that a poor labourer can have no inducement to quit his native place for another, where he is unknown, besides the hope of procuring better employment, or better gratuitous support, than he can obtain at home. He has a right to go in quest of employment, wherever it may be had; and as long as he can obtain it, and hold it, his migration imposes no burthen upon any one. With respect to gratuitous support, no man need leave his home for that, after the general establishment of workhouses; because it will be had in his own neighbourhood, as good, and as plentiful, as at any other place. Consequently, if the labourer travels from home, he will travel in search of work; nor is it likely that he will take up his residence in any quarter where work does not abound. Should it occur, however, that, in consequence of an extraordinary temporary demand for labour, a number of strangers are induced to settle in some particular locality, to which they may afterwards become burdensome, for want of continued employment, then *emigration*, at the public charge, should be resorted to, and relief be thus afforded both to the paupers and to the portion of the community made chargeable with their support.

It would be also very necessary, in the absence of a *Settlement Clause*, to adopt strict and effective measures for the suppression of vagrancy; and, therefore, the suggestions of the Report on that head, are entitled to serious consideration. Vigorous means should certainly be taken to prevent squatters and tramps

from settling themselves upon the industrious: and if nothing else could produce that effect, it would be perfectly just and proper to send them out of the country.*

It would materially facilitate the introduction of a system of poor-relief into Ireland, and assist in setting its new machinery in motion, without any sudden or violent concussion, if it were accompanied at the outset by the commencement of some great and extensive public work; a work, we mean, of national concern, and of such magnitude, as to give profitable employment to large numbers of the people, during three or four years, at least, after the Poor Law came into operation. If the undertaking were such as would admit of its extending itself over many parts of the country at the same time, so as not to draw together large masses of the labouring population to any one point, this would be a great recommendation: and it would also be a most favourable circumstance if the labour, demanded for this purpose, should be employed in the direction of the most populous, the most distressed, and the least civilized, counties of Ireland.

Several projects, such as we describe, are now undergoing examination before a Royal Commission, and there can be little doubt, that some one of them will receive legislative sanction in the ensuing session of Parliament. The reader will have anticipated that we speak of the proposals for a railway, across Ireland to a Western Port. The ulterior object of that undertaking is so important to Great Britain, in its bearing upon her national and commercial relations with America, that the work should not be left to private hands alone to carry it on. It involves, in no slight degree, the future interests, and, therefore, demands the immediate care and support, of this great nation: nor can we suppose that the task of perfecting such a work will be left to depend upon individual enterprise and speculation. The nation will surely become a party in the project; and that being the case, nothing can be more obvious, or more easy, than to render it subsidiary, in the first instance, to a legislative provision for the labouring poor. Regulations may be framed to oblige the conductors of the Western Railway, and the Commissioners of Poor Laws, to render mutual assistance to each other; the former being bound to employ, in every possible instance, the able-bodied poor now out of work; and the latter to supply them with workmen from those districts where the market of labour is most over-

* We would include, in the same category with the unknown vagrant, all incurable drunkards, whether known or not, who, by a determined indulgence of their favourite vice, should have rendered themselves burdensome to the community. Such a regulation would go farther, than any possible restrictions upon publicans, to reform this degrading source of misery.

stocked. By such an arrangement, the pressure upon very necessitous districts may be much alleviated; and by the time that it shall cease to have effect, there will be other sources of industry opened, or the means devised for the relief of the poor will be more matured, and the whole country, we doubt not, in a better condition to support them.

It affords us sincere gratification to be assured, and to be enabled to assure the friends of Ireland, that the principal members of His Majesty's Government are disposed to give their most strenuous support to this cause, which is, in fact, the cause of humanity and of justice. Lord Morpeth, whose attachment to Ireland retains all the fervour and sincerity of a first affection, is pledged to bring forward a measure for the relief of our poor. They could not have placed themselves under a better or a kinder patron. For he knows the country and its resources,—he knows what the poor have a right to expect, and what the affluent are able, and may be justly required, to contribute: nor does the House of Commons contain any one better qualified to plead a cause, which, if urged with sufficient warmth and without exaggeration, must meet an advocate in every just, manly, and generous bosom. The Government, *we hope*, is unanimous in its determination to give a cordial and energetic support to the act of the Secretary for Ireland. The *hearts* of the leading and influential members of the Cabinet are with us, upon this question; and if there be, amongst the usual supporters of the Government, any who entertain an opposite feeling, whatever deference may be due to their opinions, on other subjects, we trust it is unnecessary to warn Lord Melbourne against their arguments and representations upon this. Of his own disposition to take a large and generous view of it, we have not the slightest doubt. That belongs to his character, and to the anxiety he has always evinced to promote the permanent good of Ireland: and when he finds the sentiment confirmed, as we know it will be, by Lord John Russell, "*The Secretary of State for Ireland*,"—the ardent and tried friend of our land, the protector and the advocate of oppressed and suffering humanity in every clime and country,—he will not hesitate to follow its bias. If he needs any further confirmation of the impulse, let him consult Lord Lansdowne, whose opinion, as the proprietor of extensive and well-managed estates in Ireland, is entitled to much deference. We are quite sure that *he* will warmly support a Poor Law. Let him ask Lord Duncannon, whose Irish tenantry, down to the lowest peasant, present, in their flourishing and happy condition, the strongest living argument *against* a Poor Law. For, on that nobleman's property, not only is pauperism unknown, but the condition of the labourer is raised far above the ordinary

standard of the Irish peasantry. In point of lodging, of comfort, of cleanliness, of dress, of food, and of education, there is an obvious and marked superiority; and all this has been effected, without the use of stimulants of any kind, either in the shape of high wages or of premiums, by a steady course of judicious encouragement and superintendence. If any man has a good right to oppose a Poor Law, it is Lord Duncannon; for he can show, by the stubborn evidence of facts, how easily the peasantry of Ireland *might be* raised above the want of legislative relief, if all landlords were as wise, as persevering, and as kind as he is. Yet let Lord Melbourne consult Lord Duncannon; and he will tell him—although the measure may and will inflict unmerited taxation upon himself—that the general condition of the poor of Ireland cries aloud for relief, and will not brook a longer delay. Let him consult the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who, though he possesses no property in the country, is better acquainted with its actual condition, and has a far clearer and more comprehensive knowledge of the resources and necessities of its population, than numbers of titled and untitled personages who derive large revenues from the soil:—he will tell him that a Poor Law is indispensable, not only as an act of justice to Ireland, but one of safety and protection to Great Britain; that it is not more to be desired as a relief to a noble and long suffering people, than as a requisite support to the authority of the laws, and a security and consolidation to that Bond of Union which holds the several parts of this great empire together.* Let him read the evidence taken before the Assistant Commissioners, and *that* will tell him that there is no help, no hope, in anything short of legal compulsion, to rescue two millions of his fellow-subjects out of a state of degradation and misery scarcely conceivable. Let him trust his own excellent understanding and right feeling; but let him pay no attention to the opposition of interested and narrow-minded men.

The Commissioners, at the conclusion of their Report, say,—“*What ought to be done, we trust will be done.*” It is a good and an honest wish, to which we and “all the people” answer with a hearty “Amen.” THIS “ought to be done, and we trust

* Lord Stanley, whose example as a landlord we earnestly commend to the imitation of those who admire his more flashy qualities, is, we believe a sincere advocate for a Poor Law. We know not if he would go farther than the Commissioners. But we should expect, from the very judicious and praiseworthy management of his property in Tipperary, that he would, upon this question, take a manly and decided course; and, indeed, we shall be greatly disappointed if he does not. With respect to the treatment of his Irish tenantry, he has always been consistent, generous, and wise.

it will be done," *quickly*. Another session must not pass over without a provision being made for our suffering, neglected, patient, countrymen. The harrassing opposition, with which the Government has been thwarted and perplexed, during the two last sessions of Parliament, is an excuse for many unfulfilled pledges and duties. Whether they will again encounter the same vexatious resistance to their general policy, or whether the country is prepared to endure the third act of a farce, now grown too tedious to be amusing, we cannot venture to predict. But, in any case, this measure should be amongst the first, as it is decidedly the most important, which will try the pulse of the House of Lords in the next session. If they reject it, they will have only added *a log to the pile*. If they suffer it to pass, the Government will have a glorious answer to the impudent and jeering question of the Tories, "What have you done?" For they can appeal to this enduring monument of their zeal for the good of all classes of persons, and say,—“We have done justice, and laid the foundation of peace: we have given a Poor Law to Ireland.”

ART. IV.—*The Progress of the Nation, in its various Social and Economical Relations, from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Present time.* By G. R. Porter, Esq. 8vo. London. 1836.

WE are not able precisely to assign the period when statistical knowledge began to be appreciated, or when it first assumed the form of a distinct branch of science; but it may fairly be assumed, that it owed its origin to the establishment of mortuary and baptismal registers, at the beginning of the 17th century.* Captain John Graunt, of London, has the honour of having first led the way in this species of investigation; and it must be confessed, that his “*Natural and Political Observations on Bills of Mortality*,” evince a singular talent for observation in this field of enquiry, where, previously to his own, few footsteps are to be traced. In 1722, followed the “*Göttliche Ordnung*” of Süssmilch; and, in 1783, the celebrated “*Observations on Reversionary Payments*” of Dr. Price.

* Good Mortuary Tables, however, were preserved at Geneva from so early a period as 1560, and the example thus set was soon imitated by the German States. Parish registers were first enjoined to be kept in this country in 1538, on the dissolution of the monasteries. The first bills of mortality for London were issued in 1603, in consequence of the ravages of the plague; but the Decennial Population Acts did not come into operation till March 1801.

These jejune and apparently unproductive researches were speedily followed by a rich harvest of results, as important as they were unexpected, and immediately bearing on the best interests of society. Among these may be reckoned, as not the least important, the formation of benefit societies among the poor, and those gigantic monied confederacies, the insurance companies, among the rich; the value of which, in a commercial and political point of view, it is scarcely possible to estimate too highly. Our business, however, at present, is neither with these, nor with the various other applications of statistics, which constitute modern political economy: our object is confined to the investigation of the state of Public Health, and of the causes which have contributed to its gradual improvement.

It may not be out of place to remark one very gratifying truth, disclosed to us by all the bearings of this subject, viz. that the moral and physical condition of this country has kept, and is still keeping, a steady onward progress towards social perfection. Under whatever aspect the question is regarded, unequivocal traces are every where visible of the influence of associated wealth and education, in checking crime, and diminishing the amount of mortality. The application of the same test gives us also, the only tangible proof of the relative degrees of prosperity of different countries, and of the relative superiority, especially, of this country over every other. From the facts, which will be laid before the reader, it will be impossible, we think, to escape this inference, or to avoid the conclusion, that a great part of this beneficial change is attributable entirely to the improvements of medical art, which has more than kept pace with the progress of general science.

There are several points of view in which the diminished rate of mortality is capable of being represented. In the 3d century, the expectation of life, or, what amounts to the same thing, the mean duration of life, for free citizens, did not exceed 30 years; but in Britain, at the present time, it extends, at least, to 50 years. The mean duration of life of a native of Geneva, in the middle of the 16th century, was only 18 years; and half the children born did not reach their sixth year: but, at present, the expectation of life, calculated for the whole population of Geneva, is, at least, 36 years, and half the children born attain their 28th year, showing, in the former point of view, a double, and in the latter, a quintuple, rate of improvement. Facts, which we shall presently have occasion to state, evince a corresponding rate of amendment in this country.

The estimated proportion of deaths in this country, for the last half century, indicates a continually diminishing mortality, which can only be ascribed to some steadily operative cause.

Thus, in 1786, the rate of mortality, for the whole of England and Wales, was 1 in 42; in 1801, 1 in 47; in 1831, it had diminished to 1 in 58,—shewing an improvement of 38 per cent. in the short period of half a century. The annual mortality of the county of Middlesex, which, in the beginning of the last century, was estimated at 1 in 25, had fallen to 1 in 35 in 1801; and, at present, does not exceed 1 in 45. A corresponding improvement is visible in our urban population. In London, for example, the number of deaths diminished, from 21,000 in 1697, to 17,000, in 1797; showing not only a comparative, but an absolute, decrease of mortality, in regard to the preceding century. The same fact is also observable in regard to the present century; the number of deaths being less numerous, by 3000, in 1826, than they were in 1766, although the population had very nearly doubled itself during that period. From 1720 to 1750, the mortality of London was estimated at 1 in 20; at present, it has decreased to 1 in 46, a rate much more favourable than that for the whole of France, and materially less than the known rate of mortality for any other city in Europe. Manchester has more than quadrupled its inhabitants since the middle of the last century; but, notwithstanding this, the mortality has declined, from 1 to 25, to 1 in 50, or exactly one half.

This improvement is more or less conspicuous in most of the European states or cities, but in a far inferior degree to what appears in Great Britain; for, notwithstanding that it has long been the fashion to exhaust every term of reproach on our variable climate, and particularly on the fogs and smoke of London, it would yet appear, that the most favoured spots on the continent are not comparable to either in regard to salubrity;—nay, the very places which have long been selected as the resort of invalids, and celebrated as the fountains of health, are, in fact, far more fatal to life than our great metropolis. The following table conveys a pregnant hint to those who consider a foreign climate preferable to our own for the restoration of health.

Mortality of Countries.

Russia	-	-	1 in 26
The Venetian States	-	-	1 in 28
The whole of New Spain	-	-	1 in 30
The two Sicilies	-	-	1 in 31
Wurtemberg	-	-	1 in 33
Naples	-	-	1 in 34
The United States, and France	-	-	1 in 40
Sweden	-	-	1 in 41
Holland	-	-	1 in 48
Pays de Vaud	-	-	1 in 49
Norway	-	-	1 in 54
England and Wales	-	-	1 in 60

Mortality of Cities.

Vienna	-	-	-	1 in 22½
Amsterdam	-	-	-	1 in 24
Rome and Brussels	-	-	-	1 in 25
Naples	-	-	-	1 in 28
Madrid	-	-	-	1 in 29
Nice	-	-	-	1 in 31
Paris, Strasbourg, Barcelona, and Lyons	-	-	-	1 in 32
Berlin	-	-	-	1 in 34
Leghorn	-	-	-	1 in 35
Liverpool	-	-	-	1 in 40
London	-	-	-	1 in 46
Manchester	-	-	-	1 in 50

"It is indisputable," Dr. Hawkins observes, "that the average proportion of deaths in England, and her cities, is less than that of any other city in Europe: and it may be added, that the powers of body and mind are preserved, to a late period, in higher perfection here, than in other countries. Nowhere are the advances of age so slowly perceived, and nowhere so little manifested on the exterior."* It may be added, that the mortality of the continental cities would be greatly augmented but for their public hospitals. Dupin estimated that half the population of Paris died in the public hospitals, and other asylums of charity.

To what, then, are we to attribute this encrease in the value of human life, on the one hand, and these varying rates of mortality, on the other? There can be no doubt that it depends on a concurrence of causes which more or less directly emanate from encreased wealth and civilization. These may fairly enough be divided into general and medical.

Among the general causes, the amelioration of climate, by cultivation and surface drainage, must hold a principal rank. These tend to banish two of the most formidable enemies to health and longevity, viz. cold and moisture. These causes operate principally on the young, particularly those in a state of infancy, and derive much of their force from being united with poverty. Now, it is precisely among this section of the population that the decline of mortality has been principally exhibited. Within the last half century, the mortality of those under 20 years of age has diminished, from 1 in 76½, to 1 in 137, or nearly one half, this calculation being made in reference to the whole population. In some of the public schools, a very low rate of mortality

* *Elements of Medical Statistics*, 8vo. Lond. 1829, a work of singular merit, and doing equal credit to the head and heart of the amiable author.

exists, which may partly be attributed to a plenty of good clothing and food, and partly to the fact, that parents will only send those children that happen to be strong. At the Edinburgh High School, for example, the annual mortality has not exceeded 1 in 833, which is considerably less than the annual minimum mortality, (.51 per cent.) from 10 to 15 years of age, for the whole of England and Wales. In reference to the small number of deaths which have occurred at Christ's Hospital, from 1829 to 1833, viz. 1 in 157 $\frac{1}{2}$, Dr. Mitchell, in the *Factory Report*, justly observes, that it is to "substantial clothing, and an abundance of wholesome food, healthful exercise in the hours allowed for recreation, and immediate attention to the first appearance of sickness, under skilful medical men," that we must attribute this result.

Another very influential cause of improved health, arises from increased commercial and agricultural prosperity, which must not only multiply the comforts of the poorer classes, in the three essential articles of food, clothing, and habitation, but, by exhilarating the mind with cheerfulness and hope, call its best energies into wholesome operation. The influence of depraved or defective food, in checking the increase of population, and swelling the bills of mortality, was rendered but too manifest by the bad crops of 1795 and 1800; while the effects of despondency on the body, or of the *morale* on the *physique*, scarcely require any formal proof. Surgeons have long been aware of the hazard of performing any capital surgical operations on patients labouring under mental depression; and it has been observed, that the greatest difference exists in the consequences of disease, as it happens to affect a retreating or an advancing army;—the constitution, which in the one case triumphs over incredible difficulties, succumbing in the other, without a struggle, under the merest trifles. It may be observed, too, that epidemics are in general the offspring of misery and want, and exhaust their principal fury on the lower classes.

On the contrary, the conservative tendency of an easy and affluent condition is remarkably exemplified in the low rate of mortality among those who have insured at the Equitable Office. From the year 1800 to 1821, it did not exceed 1 in 81. At the University Club, for a space of three years, it did not exceed 1 in 90. Now, if this be contrasted with the mortality among the West India slaves, we shall obtain some idea of the immense protection which wealth brings with it to the body. The mortality among these was formerly as great as 1 in 6: in 1829 it had diminished to 1 in 16, and of the free Africans to 1 in 33. The lower rate of mortality among the free Africans, shows that it did not depend on climate,

transplantation, or any other general cause operating alike upon the whole race. The children of the poor in France die in the proportion of at least two to one of those in affluent circumstances; and the same difference is observable between the abject and the opulent, among the adult population, occupying the extreme localities of Paris. In a recent number of the *Annales d'Hygiène Publique*, tom. xiv. p. 88, M. Lombard has given an analysis of 8,488 men of 16 years of age and upwards, inscribed in the mortuary registers of Geneva from 1796 to 1830, from which it appears that these persons attained a mean life of 55 years, while the two extremes of the scale were as far apart as 69.1 on the one hand, and 44.3 on the other. Magistrates, *rentiers*, and Protestant ecclesiastics, attained the mean life respectively of 69.1, 65.8, and 63.8 years; but enamellers, locksmiths, and painters, only 48.7, 47.2 and 44.3 years; the number for agriculturists (44.7) representing very nearly the mean term. M. Lombard, in short, comes to the conclusion that a state of competence, as opposed to that of distress, is calculated to prolong life at least seven years and a half; and an active life, as opposed to a sedentary, as much as one year and four-tenths,—making together a difference of nearly nine years in the life of such persons. One fearful cause of mortality in this country is scrophula, in its hundred different forms; but nothing excites this disease so certainly as cold and squalid poverty, combined with insufficient nutriment and clothing. From rickets alone (which is a species of scrophula), the annual number of deaths within the Bills of Mortality seldom averaged less than 380 up to the beginning of the 17th century. Towards the middle of this century, however, they had diminished to 11, and towards the end of it to 1.

There are a number of other circumstances, connected with our economic relations, which materially contribute to promote the public health; and so far to confirm the remark of the discerning Sydenham, that “*Morbi acuti Deum habent autorem, chronici ipsos nos* :” as, for example, an abundant supply of wholesome water, an efficient system of drainage, a general taste for cleanliness, enforced, where it becomes necessary, by wholesome municipal authority, the less crowded state of our private dwellings, the better economy of our hospitals, a more commodious system of public building, combining the advantages of space and ventilation with internal conveniences, a plenty of good wheaten bread, and the use of frequent changes of linen next the skin, in the room of sordid and filthy woollen. Mr. White, in reference to the extinction of leprosy, and, indeed, of most of those other frightful epidemics, which have at one time or another

desolated this country, very ably sums up the causes of this happy change. "This," he says, "may have originated, and been continued, from the much smaller quantity of salted meat and fish now eaten in these kingdoms—from the use of linen next the skin—from the plenty of better bread—and from the profusion of fruits, roots, legumes and greens, so common in every family. Three or four centuries ago, before there were any enclosures, sown-grasses, field-turnips, field-carrots, or hay, all the cattle, that had grown fat in summer, and were not killed for winter use, were turned out, soon after Michaelmas, to shift as they could through the dead months; so that *no fresh meat could be had in the winter or spring.*"—*Nat. Hist. of Selborne.*

The precise change of habits, referred to in the above extract, does not, of course, apply to the improved and still improving condition of the lower orders, during the present century. It is, however, to the same *class* of agencies, which formerly produced epidemical and malignant disorders*, that we must still refer the superior mortality of one town over another, or of one period of time above another. We shall conclude this branch of the subject with one farther extract from Dr. Hawkins:—

"So intimate a connection subsists between political changes and the public health, that wherever feudal distinctions have been abolished, wherever the artisan or the peasant has been released from arbitrary enactments, there also the life of these classes has acquired a new vigour; and it is certain, that even bodily strength, and the power of enduring hardships, are divided among the natives of the earth in a proportion relative to their prosperity and civilization."

The gradual substitution of spirit for a wholesome malt liquor, and the rapid multiplication of gin palaces, must have acted as a serious counteracting circumstance to the beneficial tendencies

* It is highly probable, that the same causes, acting under different circumstances of the atmosphere, produced the different epidemics of the middle centuries. The plague was the emphatic evil of those ages, and scarcely any ten years elapsed without a considerable visitation of it; but the devastation committed, in the intervals, by dysentery, scurvy, putrid fevers, and a number of other infections, was scarcely less deplorable. Of these, the sweating sickness was most nearly allied to plague, and prevailed to a dreadful extent in the years 1485, 1506, 1517, 1528, and 1551. The greatest plague years of the 17th century, were 1603, 1625, 1636, and 1665, in which the mortality is reported to have been respectively 36,000, 35,000, 10,000, and 68,000, although, according to Lord Clarendon, "many, who could compute very well, concluded there were in truth double that who died." The memorable fire of London occurred in 1666, while the plague was yet raging; and, as it has never returned since, it is reasonable to suppose, that the causes of its first appearance were entirely of a local nature. Among the signs which usually ushered it in, Diemerbroeck enumerates "*Morbi epidemici mali moris, dysenteriae valde malignae et contagiosae, et imprimis febris putridae malignissimae et purpuratae, plurimisque lethales.*" Morton, also, in speaking of the poison of the remittent fever, which prevailed for some years previous to 1665, says, "*Venenum sese recolligens, et mirum in modum auctum, hanc omnem in pestem funestissimam et dirrissimam inopinato mutavit.*"

before mentioned : so must also the progressive change which has latterly taken place in the relative proportions of the agricultural and manufacturing population. In 1811, these proportions were as 100 to 126, for the whole of Great Britain : in 1831 they had become as 100 to 149, or, taking the increase in the whole number of families, for these 20 years, to have been at the rate of 34 per cent, the accession to the agricultural class has only been 7½ per cent, while that to the manufacturing and trading classes has been at least 27 per cent. For the same reason, a disposition among the class of *rentiers*, or independent gentry, to centralize, or adopt a civic mode of life, in preference to the country, must have had a proportionably adverse effect on the general health.

The second general head, to which we have referred the diminished and still diminishing mortality of modern times, is the improvement of medical art. Many, perhaps, will be disposed to dispute this position ; and even among the members of the profession there may be found some, who, either from a natural incapability of generalizing the effects of medicine on an extensive scale, or from an incorrigible scepticism of mind, which refuses the light of truth in any other form than that of a demonstration, will still persist in countenancing the retention of this error. Such persons are very unfit to make good physicians ; they have mistaken altogether their *metier*, and should have become professors of the mathematics, or some of the more purely inductive sciences, rather than of a science which has to deal entirely with probabilities : “*Est enim hæc ars conjecturalis, neque respondet ei plerumque non solum conjectura, sed etiam experientia.*” The possession of strong natural sagacity, strengthened and directed by sound professional knowledge, is the only order of intellect which can expect to attain the first rank in the medical profession ; and although it must undoubtedly be conceded, that the experienced physician often expresses doubt, in those very cases where the young are full of confidence, yet this is a discriminative doubt, arising from a more exact knowledge of disease, and consequently dictating the forbearance of experimental treatment where it probably would be hurtful.

If we were required to point out the distinguishing feature of modern medicine, we should not hesitate to affirm, that it will be found in the adoption of more just scientific principles, *in conformity* with the indications of nature. In the treatment of fever, for example, the physician's aim is not so much to quell the storm, for that he knows to be impossible, as to guide the vessel safely through it ; and for this purpose he does not consider it necessary to thwart all the indications of nature, but lends his assisting hand to render their accomplishment more certain. If the con-

stitution labours under excessive action, he effectually relieves it by a vigorous application of the lancet; if, on the contrary, there is a prostration of the vital energies, which threatens the extinction of life, he supports it with a liberal hand—his constant endeavour is to restore the balance of action, and to relieve individual organs, when disproportionately oppressed. Modern medicine, in short, is vigorous where vigour is required, and expectant where nature alone is adequate to the cure; but, on the whole, a more decided adoption of the anti-phlogistic treatment, combined with a more just confidence in the powers of nature, may unquestionably be said to constitute the leading characteristics of the modern system.

For this change we are principally indebted to the sagacious Sydenham. "I see," said he, in reference to the small pox, "no reason why the patient should be kept stifled in bed, but rather that he may rise and sit up, a few hours every day, provided the injuries, arising from the extremes of heat and cold, be prevented, both with respect to the place wherein he lies, and his manner of clothing." This enlistment of common sense in the cause of medicine, is not more just, than it certainly is natural. It constitutes the leading distinction between the purely theoretical and the practical physician, while it is the only sure basis on which a sound judgment of disease can at any time be formed: our only wonder is, that so prime a faculty of our nature, as common sense, and so essential to the direction of talent of every kind, should so long have remained overlaid by prejudice, or fettered by the technicalities of science.

Let us, however, descend from these generalities to some specific examples, illustrative of the improved state of the public health.

The well-educated physician can scarcely require numerical proof, that fever is more successfully treated in the present age, than it was in the last, or, indeed, in any other. Out of 37 cases treated by Hippocrates, 21, or more than one half, died; whereas, at the Fever Hospital of London, in 1825, the total mortality was less than 1 in 7; and at the Dublin Fever Hospital, from 1804 to 1812, did not exceed 1 in 12. The deaths from fever, within the Bills of Mortality, averaged about 3000 annually, in the middle of the last century, but had diminished to 2000 and under, towards the end.

One of the effects of high wrought civilization on a people, especially when conjoined with a cold climate, is to multiply chronic complaints, and to diminish the number of acute diseases: so that in India, and among uncivilized nations generally, the quantity of disease at any given period (excepting, of course,

the prevalence of epidemics) is exceedingly small. It has been estimated, that about one-twentieth of the population are constantly under illness in this country; out of which about one-twentieth are acute cases, and another twentieth surgical complaints. Now, chronic complaints are far less inimical to life than is generally believed; independently of which, physicians are now in the habit of diagnosticating such cases with infinitely more caution, and of treating them with infinitely more judgment, than formerly: so that, in proportion as their resources have seemed to multiply, they have shown less disposition to employ them. Correctness of diagnosis may be regarded as one of the chief advantages arising from an extensive acquaintance with pathology, aided, as it often is, by the indications of the stethoscope.

The introduction of Vaccination, in 1798, has probably been more efficient, as a single cause, in the reduction of mortality, than any other. According to the last report of the *National Vaccine Institution*, the number of deaths from small-pox within the Bills of Mortality, for the preceding year, were only 343, or 4,000 less than the average mortality from this cause during the last century, notwithstanding the increase of the population. Thus also each successive decennary period, commencing with the present century, exhibits a gradual decline of mortality from this cause, from 73 in every 1000 deaths, in 1800, to 43 in 1810, 35 in 1820, and 28 in 1830; and not only has the number of deaths from this cause diminished, in proportion to the whole population and mortality, but in proportion also to the number of those who take the disease; for, from 1794 to 1798, the mortality, at the Small-pox Hospital of London, was 32 in 100, or nearly 1 in 3; but had diminished, in 1834, to 13 in 100, or nearly 1 in 8, a diminution which must principally be ascribed to the improved medical treatment to which the patients are subjected.

A similar decrease in the mortality of lunatic asylums and schools, especially where the same management, as to diet, &c. has been pursued, leads to the same conclusion. The mortality among the children of the Foundling Hospital, of London, under 12 years of age, for thirty years, terminating in 1799, diminished in the proportion of 12 to 7. Also at Christ's Hospital, the mortality, as we have already had occasion to observe, has exhibited a successive decrease for each quinquennial period, commencing with 1814, and terminating in 1833, from 1 in 100, to 1 in 157½, in respect to which, Mr. Porter justly observes, that "The length of time, and the numbers embraced by the returns, forbid the belief that the favourable

result is the effect of accident; and if we consider that the originally low rate of mortality has been rendered more and more favourable in each succeeding five years, it is hardly possible to account for the circumstance by any other supposition, than that of a more rational mode of discipline, both moral and medical, than was practised in former periods."

The mortality among children under 10 years of age, in the town of Warrington, (pop. 13,000), from 1772-81 to 1818-25, declined from 55 to 44 per cent. In the Bills of Mortality for London, we have the means of tracing this decline with considerable accuracy. Thus, if we divide the century, from 1730 to 1830, into vigesimal periods, the mortality among children under 5 years of age will be found to have diminished, in each interval, from 74.5 per cent for the *first*, to 63.0 for the *second*, 51.5 for the *third*, 41.3 for the *fourth*, and 31.8 for the *last*. The minimum mortality occurs from the age of 10 to 15; the maximum from 0 to 5,—the latter being, at least, ten times greater than the former: so that we may perceive, from this, the importance of judicious management of children, especially in a medical point of view. The astounding mortality of foundlings exhibits this in a striking light. Of 10,272 children received into the Foundling Hospital of Dublin, from 1775 to 1796, 45 only were recovered; but of 2168 received from 1805 to 1806, 486 recovered. During the 34 years, comprised between 1798 to 1831 (inclusive), there were admitted 51,523 children, and of these 12,153 died immediately in the nursery; but of the remainder as many as one-third were living at their ninth year. From 1771 to 1777, 31,951 deserted children were received at the Foundling Hospital of Paris; and of these 25,476 died before the end of the first year: but in 1823, one half of those which were received, survived to the end of this period. It may be replied, that this beneficial change is probably due to the provision which has been made for sending the children into the country, under the care of intelligent and wholesome nurses,—and this is certainly true: but was not this measure first adopted at medical suggestion, and carried into effect under medical superintendence?

The next prominent fact relating to this subject, regards the fate of lying-in women. The mortality at the British Lying-in Hospital, in 1750, was 1 in 42; in 1780, 1 in 60; and finally, from 1789 to 1798, (inclusive) 1 in 288. From 1757 to 1825, the number of women dying in childbed, at the Dublin Lying-in Hospital, was 1 in 89. In 1826 to 1833, it had diminished to 1 in 100. The prevalence, however, of epidemics, at certain seasons, in lying-in hospitals, renders any selection of years a very unsafe guide, as, in some years, every patient almost escapes; while, in

others, every fourth or every sixth, that is received, becomes the victim of puerperal inflammation. Still, it cannot be doubted that a great and progressive amendment has taken place upon the whole, arising, in great measure, from the dismissal of a number of pernicious prejudices from the lying-in chamber, especially a meddling interference with nature, and the administration of heating cordials to the patient; and partly from the more judicious application of instrumental assistance in difficult cases. According to Mr. Mantell of Lewes, whose statement may be entirely depended on, only two fatal cases, out of a total of 2410, occurred in that town, from 1813 to 1828.

The number of still-born children has preserved a pretty constant proportion to the fate of the mothers, although there are some varieties in this respect which are not easily explained. The number of still-births for London is about 1 in 28, and for Paris 1 in 19. Of 16,654 births, which occurred at the Dublin Lying-in Hospital, during a period of seven years, commencing November, 1826, as many as 1121, or 1 in 14½, were still-births. These are always more frequent among the poor and sick than among the rich and healthy. At the *Hôpital des Vénériennes* at Paris, 2 out of every 7 are born dead; in a similar establishment at Hamburgh 1 out of every 3. At Göttingen, the mortality among illegitimate children is, at least, five times greater than among those who are born in wedlock.

But whatever may be thought of the advances of medicine and obstetricity,—of the improvements of surgery there can be no question. Surgery, indeed, raised first from an art into a science by the genius of Hunter,* has not only taken equal rank with the other learned professions, but has far out-stripped them in the celerity of its advances. With the exception of chemistry, no modern science has presented the same number of brilliant discoveries, or valuable practical improvements:—to name them would be to go over the whole list of surgical diseases. Some, as inflammation of the membranes of the brain, consequent on severe concussions of that organ, which were formerly exceedingly common, are now almost entirely prevented by a judicious anticipatory treatment: others, as nearly the whole class of aneurisms, which fifty years ago were left to work their fatal effects on the system without any attempt at relief being made, are now comparatively brought under the dominion of art. Compared with former years, the number of patients admitted into our public hospitals, to be cut for the stone, is exceed-

* A new edition, is advertised of the works of this celebrated man in 4 volumes, 8vo, with Notes by Mr. Palmer. It is expected to be ready in a few months.

ingly limited—partly arising from the invention of Sir Astley Cooper's forceps for the extraction of small calculi from the bladder; partly from calculous diseases being better understood, and better treated at the commencement; and partly from the operation of lithotrity being occasionally had recourse to. We are of opinion that, at least, one half of the cases of diseases of the joints, and bad compound fractures of the extremities, which were formerly condemned, are now recovered by a better treatment; and though these are certainly not very common complaints, and form therefore no very large proportion of the total mortality, they yet serve to indicate the great advances which have been made in the science, every part of which has been equally cultivated. Nothing can exhibit this in a more striking light, than the amelioration, which has taken place in the treatment of syphilis, which now rarely presents those disgusting spectacles which were formerly so common at every turn.

The subjects of insanity and suicide are closely associated, and must not be entirely passed over. The former is the penalty of high-wrought civilization, and increases as this advances; the latter may be regarded as some index to the morality of a country, or, at all events, of the degree in which human life is estimated by it. From a comparison of different years, we gather the pleasing inference, that the mortality of our lunatic asylums has gradually lessened, in nearly the same proportion as the number of curables to incurables has gradually augmented. It appears, by nearly all the returns of Europe, excepting France, that men are more prone to insanity than females, in the proportion of 100 to 77: but this apparent discrepancy may, perhaps, be referred to the delicate feelings of relatives, who object to the idea of placing the female branches of their families in public asylums, especially as they are more easily controlled at their own homes or in private families. The proportion of females cured at the Bethlem Hospital, during the last 15 years, has been 47.0 per cent.; and at St. Luke's, 44.8 per cent.; the respective numbers for males being 39.6 and 41.3.—Of 997 curable patients, admitted at the former, from 1830 to 1834 (inclusive), considerably more than half were between the ages of 20 and 40, or, precisely at that period of life, when the passions acquire their greatest ascendancy. The mortality, during the same period, was a little less than 1 in 25, which is surprisingly small, when we consider that many of these labour under actual organic disease of a vital part. Of the recoveries, nearly one half took place within the first six months.

The opinion that religion is frequently the cause of insanity is not well supported. Count de Chabrol gives it a very low

place in the scale of causation, making 9 only out of 100 cases to depend upon it. Among a more reflecting people than the French, this proportion may be considered low, but it should also be borne in mind that insanity naturally seizes on the illimitable and sublime mysteries of religion, as the proper food of its dis-tempered imaginations, although these had nothing whatever to do with causing it in the first instance.

The suicidal propensity is generally regarded in this country as a resulting evidence of insanity. This arises from false motives of charity, and has a pernicious effect. The vulgar belief that Englishmen are peculiarly prone to the commission of suicide is entirely without foundation. About 100 instances, only, annually occur in the metropolis. From 1812 to 1824, the total number of suicides for the City of Westminster, was only 290, or 1 in 8,000—a proportion at least three times inferior to that for any of the great cities of France or Germany; and if allowance is made for the extreme dissipation of many parts of this city, we shall not be far wrong in considering 1 in 10,000 a medium proportion. In Prussia, the civic cases are to the rural as 14 to 4. The propensity is stronger in the male than in the female, as 5 to 2, in this country, and 2 to 1 in France. Many curious examples are recorded of the influence of imitation, in determining the thoughts to suicide, especially of those who are predisposed. The shocking recital of horrible cases in the newspapers, are attended with this effect. It has occasionally become necessary for the public authorities to interfere, and either to deny the rites of Christian burial, or to expose the corpse to some indignity, in order to arrest the progress of a suicidal contagion. Dr. Caspar relates the existence of a suicidal club in Prussia, consisting of six persons, all of whom accomplished their purpose: and a similar club is said to have existed in Paris, not long since, the members of which bound themselves by a regulation, that, every year, one of their number should be selected to destroy himself as a testimony of their sincerity. Among the causes of suicide, sheer misery holds a prominent place; next to that, domestic unhappiness; then, reverses of fortune, disappointed love, and gambling. A great number of attempted suicides arise from the loss of female honour, accompanied by the prospect of pregnancy. It is remarkable, that this disposition is far more predominant in Protestant than in Catholic communities. In Spain it is so extremely rare, that for the whole of 1826, only 16 instances were officially reported. From 1812 to 1824, the suicides committed in Westminster, in the months of June, were 34, and those in the months of November 22. In 1812, 1815, 1820, and 1824, the months of November did not afford a single case.

There are two other circumstances which deserve to be noticed,

as having an important bearing on this subject; and these are, the extension of sound medical information among the members of the profession, and the establishment of hospitals and other public institutions, as convenient means for the beneficial display of their acquirements. It is scarcely possible to judge of the state of the profession, as it existed fifty years ago, from what it is at the present time. Towards the middle of the last century, very few public lectures of any kind were given—no regular course of study was prescribed—no regular system of dissection pursued—no examination of candidates required—every thing was left to chance, and every thing shared the common fate of chance measures. But, at present, the standard of professional education is pushed to its very utmost limits; for two full seasons, that the pupil is required to pursue a systematic study in London, his intellect is kept on the full stretch. The most dull, and the most dissipated, acquire knowledge in spite of themselves: they live in an atmosphere of knowledge, and imbibe the principles of their profession unconsciously from those around them. In the metropolis alone, there are fourteen complete schools of medicine, besides private lectures; and to these are attached eight general hospitals, which receive, on an average, 25,000 in-patients in the course of the year; besides a multitude of similar but smaller establishments, dispersed in convenient neighbourhoods through the town, which, in one way or other, administer medical relief to at least 200,000 persons annually. Such ample opportunities leave no excuse to those who still choose to be ignorant; and, in fact, few do choose to be ignorant; the pressure from without, on the one hand, and the knowledge, that they must, at the end of two years, undergo two stiff examinations, by two rival bodies, on the other, operating as a sufficient spur to industry. But, independently of these facilities in the metropolis, there are forty-seven well-appointed public hospitals in our large provincial towns, (not reckoning dispensaries) all erected within the last century, and capable of accommodating 29,898 in-patients annually, besides a proportionate number of out-patients, and to these are attached eleven complete and efficient schools of medicine, besides private unrecognised lectures.*

* We call attention to this fact, in order to point out the value of correct statistical returns from our different public charities. What would be the value or kind of inferences deducible from a judicious analysis of 90,000 in-patients, received into the general hospitals of Great Britain and Ireland, in the course of a single year, we are not able to say; but we can entertain no doubt that a series of documents of this kind, extending over several years, and accurately compiled, would be of the greatest benefit to science, and probably set at rest many disputed points both of treatment and disease. The legislature, we think, would not refuse the governing bodies of the profession the necessary authority for carrying these objects into effect, provided they were applied to from the proper quarters, and an efficient plan proposed.

One of the most remarkable effects, arising out of the increased duration of human life, is the encrease of the population. At the commencement of the 17th century, the population of England and Wales amounted to 5,134,516; in 1831, it rose to 14,174,204, or nearly treble; and it is observable that the successive increments, by which this was effected, did not occur in an arithmetical ratio, but in proportion as the causes, arising out of increased wealth and civilization, came into operation. Thus the increment for the first half of the last century was 905,368, or $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; but for the second half, it amounted to 3,147,492, or upwards of 52 per cent. Political economists, at one time, endeavoured to resolve this into the increased number of births and marriages, which took place under such circumstances, or to the increased fecundity of marriage, although nothing can be more opposed to the fact: for in the early part of the last century, the number of marriages for England and Wales was 1 in 115; but, in 1821, it had diminished to 1 in 131; and in the same manner, the proportion of births, which in 1801, was 1 in 34.8 of the whole population, had diminished to 1 in 38.58 in 1821. Nothing, indeed, is now better established, than that the number of births, relatively to the whole population, diminishes as civilization advances, not because an encreasing prudence on the part of the people operates as a "preventive check," deterring people from entering into the bonds of matrimony, but because there is in the world a larger proportionate number of persons to whom the engagements of matrimony have ceased to offer any charms. It is probable that, if the estimate were made in reference to that part of the population only, which is still in the vigour of life, the number of marriages would not be found to have diminished; and this is rendered still more probable from the state of the burials: for from 1751 to 1761 the total number of burials within the bills of mortality, was 205,279; of which, 106,264, or $51\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, were of persons under 20 years of age; but from 1831 to 1834, the number of burials was 80,524, of which 34,109, or only $42\frac{1}{4}$ were of persons under 20 years of age. It appears, therefore, beyond doubt, that the extension of human life is one of the chief causes of the encrease of population.

Before we conclude, we have only to offer our best thanks to Mr. Porter, for the interesting work whose title we have set at the head of this article; and which assuredly abounds with valuable facts, clearly arranged and accurately deduced from the most authentic public documents. As a statist, Mr. Porter is already favourably known to the public. He possesses the prime qualifications of accuracy, diligence, and perspicuity, united to soundness

of judgment, purity of style, and a gentlemanly tone of feeling. We do not, therefore, hesitate to recommend his work to our readers, or to predict that it will (when completed) become a standard authority, on all subjects of national statistics. We should suppose that it will extend to three or four more volumes: one only has yet appeared.

- ART. V.—1. *The Book of Beauty*. Edited by the Countess of Blessington. 8vo. London. 1836.
2. *The Keepsake*. Edited by the Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley. 8vo. London. 1836.
3. *The Confessions of an Elderly Gentleman*. By the Countess of Blessington. 8vo. London. 1836.
4. *Adventures of Bilberry Thurland*. 3 vols. 8vo. London. 1836.
5. *The Life and Works of Cowper*. By Robert Southey, Esq. LL.D. Poet Laureat. Vols. 1-8. 8vo. London. 1836.

THE extension of the field of literature, and the new channels into which knowledge has been made to run, in the present age, will form a very interesting subject of observation to those who come after us. It cannot be denied, that the various departments of art, science, and general literature, have been prosecuted with great avidity, and by a much larger number of persons, than at any former period. There never was a time, in which so large a proportion of THE PEOPLE entered into such enquiries. The vast intercourse of the great commercial nations of Europe, especially of England, with all parts of the globe, has greatly extended our geographical and statistical knowledge. Abundance of travellers, naval, military, scientific, and literary, have run to and fro upon the earth, and knowledge of the different nations, of their morals, manners, and modes of belief, no less than of their various natural and artificial productions, has been wonderfully increased. From the same causes, natural history has received a new impulse, and an immense accession of facts. Some branches of it may almost date their origin from the present day; such as ichthyology, conchology, and entomology. Natural philosophy, too, has made a rapid progress; and chemistry, through the wonderful agency of electricity, under its different forms, has opened an unexpected acquaintance with the laws of matter, and thus at once improved the arts of social life, and given us new views of the power and wisdom of the Creator.

The first effect of this sudden and surprising growth of know-

ledge was the formation of literary and scientific associations; the second, was the equally sudden, and not less surprising extension of the periodical press. What a host of journals, reviews and magazines, has sprung up! We are no longer doomed, like our fathers, to behold Sylvanus Urban, and the *Monthly Review*, sailing in solitary glory, along the wide ocean of literature, the old gentleman bowing most politely to his throng of contributors,—lovers, poets, antiquaries, country clergymen, and retired officers; and the *Monthly Review* telling Samuel Rogers, in the commencement of his career, that he wrote very pretty prose, but that he must be advised, and attempt no more poetry! That day is gone by, and, if a wiser age has not arisen, a more knowing one has. We have journals without end. Every class of people has its periodical organ of enquiry and intelligence. The great political parties have, besides the daily and weekly newspaper-press, their *Quarterly Reviews*, and their *Monthly Magazines*, their *Blackwoods*, their *Frazers*, and their *Taits*, from which they batter the outworks of their opponents, and proclaim the views and prospects of their leaders. Just so the religious world is provided with its journals of advocacy and defence. We have *Catholic Magazines*, *Church Magazines*, and *Dissenting Magazines*. Every sect has its organ, through which it conveys, at once, to its adherents, intelligence of the movements of the body, and a certain portion of general literary news. The Army, the Navy, the Law, and Medicine, every class of philosophic and scientific men, have their magazines too. We have *Colonial Magazines*, *Magazines of Agriculture*, *Horticulture*, *Botany*, *Entomology*, *Chemical Philosophy*, *Mechanics*, *Music*—every man, be he who or what he may, has his journal, wherein he finds every new fact and improvement, connected with his peculiar pursuit, carefully recorded. This must necessarily produce an amazing effect on the propulsion of enlightened enquiry, and the diffusion of knowledge, and is, at once, the work of the present age, and the indication of its altered character, and onward course. There may, indeed, be some departments of science or learning, which are not so exclusively pursued as heretofore; it may be true that classical and mathematical studies have lost much of their ancient attraction, and that neither are cultivated with the ardour or the seriousness which once distinguished the addresses of their votaries:—but, without pausing to debate this point, it may be safely asserted, that if, in any department, the present age is not so profound as former ones, on a thousand subjects of important knowledge its spirit of enquiry is more active; that its range is infinitely more extended; and that the consequences are already beginning to manifest themselves in the general advancement of social comfort, and the moral elevation of the race.

But, besides the journals to which we have here alluded, those of General Literature have multiplied in the same, if not in greater, proportion. They appear on all hands, and, encreasing with every successive month, testify to the extraordinary growth of reading, and of literary habits among the people. These publications—and some, already mentioned, belong to the same class,—combine story and song with subjects of general criticism; and thus form a sort of common ground, where the lover of philosophy or science may find a refreshing relaxation, and the enquirer after general knowledge may continue to encrease his stores. It is to this class that the *Annals*, the *Penny Sheets*, and the reprints of standard works, in monthly volumes, may be properly said to belong.

The *Annals*, much as they have been ridiculed, have produced various and decided effects on the public taste. To say nothing of the splendid style of external embellishment, which they have introduced, they have widely diffused the love of the fine arts; they have circulated highly finished engravings of beautiful and interesting subjects; and they have thus taught the people to admire what, otherwise, they would never have beheld. It is true, indeed, that, as regards the literary department, there was something in the original plan of these periodicals too monotonous to maintain its hold on the public fancy. A regular alternation of a short prose story, and a shorter poem—prose and verse—prose and verse—and this throughout a dozen volumes, issuing from the press at the same moment,—it required more than mortal ingenuity to give force and variety to such matter. Many of them, moreover, were loaded with the contributions of friends and amateur authors, which, however their cheapness might recommend them to the editors, had nothing to recommend them to the public. Yet in these very volumes lies a mass, and that no trivial one, of some of the most ingenious and exquisite prose stories, no less than of some of the most original among the smaller poems, of which the modern language of England can boast.

But the original race of *Annals* is nearly extinct; another has risen in its place, which, with fresh objects, and under new forms, has answered to the cry for novelty that is abroad. We have now a variety of these publications, adapted to the wants and wishes of each variety of readers. One is the *Annual of the Religious World*, filled with missionary narratives, religious biographies, and grave papers on subjects of piety and philanthropy. Another, that of Mr. Watts, is the *Cabinet of Modern Art*, devoting its pages to the interest and the love of the fine arts, and abounding with notices of the most distinguished professors; and is, as it always has been, the first of the whole class for felicitous selec-

tion, and the high finish of its engravings. A third is of a different order: it is devoted to the tastes of the aristocracy, and is placed under the editorship, the guidance, and the patronage of titled ladies! To this belongs "*The Book of Beauty*," edited by the Countess of Blessington, and "*The Keepsake*," edited by the Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley. They may be classed with another demi-variety of large dimensions, and most gaudy attire, —Drawing-Room Scrap-Books—Flowers of Loveliness—Gems of Flowers, &c. &c. books of ample drawings, and ampler margins, on which every possible device of external embellishment, and internal nothingness, has been lavished.

But to these latter flaunting productions we have given merely a glance; into the purely aristocratic publications we have looked with a good deal of curiosity, because they indicate another of the remarkable fashions in modern literature—that descent of the angelic hosts into the plains of the poor shepherds of the pen; or in plainer language, of the legion of the titled into the vocation of those who have no titles, except such as rest upon their books, and such as their industry and intellect can acquire.

We do not deny that, in these publications, there is much educated and polished cleverness; much good-sense, tarnished, it is true, with no little coxcombry; and much travelled knowledge, for which we are thankful enough: but there is far more of weary common-place, and hacknied love-story, of fashionable and unnatural sentiment. There is a total want of the newness and freshness of feeling, the bold design, and daring departure from the beaten track, which mark the original and independent mind. In "*The Keepsake*," there are some good things, by persons already well known to the public. Lady Dacre has a very clever and spirited dramatic sketch, called "*The Old Bachelor's House*," and Lord Nugent is the author of a tale, with the fantastic title, "*The Sea! The Sea!*" in which there is some very vigorous writing, and some very beautiful and healthy sentiment, not unworthy of his established reputation and liberal spirit. But, after all, the preserving salt, both of this volume and of "*The Book of Beauty*," will be found under such names as Barry Cornwall, Mrs. Shelley, Mrs. S. C. Hall, Alfred Tennyson, Mr. H. F. Chorley, Walter Savage Landor, Sir William Gell, &c. &c. Take, for example, the following grandiloquent lines, from a poem written by the Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley, on visiting the mother of Napoleon Buonaparte:—

" My thought was of all mysteries of our fate,
All miseries man doth for himself create;
All terrors, and all triumphs, and all woes,
All harsh oppressions, which this doomed earth knows:

Of desperate feuds, and blood-stained anarchies,
 And ground-born tempests thundering up the skies;
 Of fortune's varying course, and freaks of change;
 Of dread catastrophes austere and strange;
 Of wondrous retributions, dooms of fear,
 And dark ordeals, and expiations drear;
 Of judgments stern, and visitations sore,
 And wild vicissitudes unknown before;
 Of earth's proud sovereignties imperial, made
 The spoils and appanage of one arrayed
 In gory stole of victory's stern success,
 A dreaded name, but an adored no less,
 By those oft marshalled to red conquest's field,
 —The veteran heroes long untaught to yield—
 By him, the suzerain of the sceptered! him,
 Before whose star all others there waxed dim!
 My thought was of bowed thrones and shattered shrines,
 Of marvels, and of mysteries, and designs
 Vasty and strange—of venturous enterprise,
 And royal, proud, stupendous pageantries,
 Out-going all of pomp that yet had been,
 Yet vanishing like vapours from the scene!
Of desperate tribulations shuddering round—
 Convulsions fierce, calamities profound—
 Of all things startling, and of all things strange,
 Beyond imagination's wildest range!" KEEPSAKE, p. 82-3.

And all this, and a great deal more, (for there are nine pages of it) while mounting a pair of stairs! Now, contrast with this the following piece of deep and simple feeling, from Barry Cornwall.

THE LADY TO HER LOVER'S PICTURE.

"O DARK, deep, pictured eyes!
 Once more I seek your meaning, as the skies
 Were sought by wizards once from eastern towers,
 When signs of fate dawned through the night's bright hours.
 O master of my soul, to whom belong
 These starry lights of love! thou dost me wrong—
 Thy heart doth wrong me, if it hath not told
 That she who loved of old
 So deeply, still awaits thee—loving yet:
 She loves, she watches,—why dost *thou* forget?"

Upon what pleasant shore, or summer waters
 Dost thou repose? Hath time,
 Or the dark witchery of the Indian daughters,—
 Or some luxurious clime,—
 The natural love of change,—or graver thought,—
 Or new ambition,—all my misery wrought?

" *Why art thou absent? Is not all thy toil
Done, on that burning soil?
Are thy dreams unaccomplished? Let them go!*
She who stood by thee once, in want and woe,
And *would* have dared all dangers, hand in hand,
Hath risen! A maiden peeress of the land,
She woos thee to behold and share her state,
And be by fortune, as by nature, great.

" *Still am I young! but wrinkled age will steal
Upon me unawares, shouldst thou delay;
And time will kiss these auburn locks to grey;
And grief will quench mine eyes: and I shall feel
That thou canst love me not (all beauty flown),
And so I shall depart,—and die alone.*

" *And then,—thou'lt hear no more of one, whose course
Hath been so dark, until too-late remorse,
Half wakening love, shall lead thee, some chance day,
To where the marble hides my mouldering clay,
And there thou'lt read—not haply without pain—
The story of her who loved, and lived in vain."*

BOOK OF BEAUTY, pp. 196-7.

That raises our spirits! That is the true vintage of Parnassus! That is the clear expression of the pure, deep, generous feeling of a true and untainted nature!

The mention of this poem leads us to point out the "Imaginary Conversation" of Savage Landor. It is a dialogue held by Colonel Walker, who put an end to female infanticide in Guzerat, with a father and his two daughters. "Walker," says Landor, "abolished infanticide, yet we hear of no equestrian statue, no monument of any kind, erected to him in England, or India." The article is full of those noble sentiments which live in a noble heart. It brings before the public a man and a deed which deserve our highest honour; and we particularly recommend it, therefore, to the notice of our titled amateur writers. If they will write to good purpose, if they really wish to fix themselves in the heart of the public, they must take such productions as this for their models, not in manner, but in spirit. They must employ themselves on subjects which interest our humanity, and tend to raise, to correct, and to console it. We want no *fade* details of a meretricious life, already sufficiently known, and more than sufficiently sickening. We want no lessons in intrigue, no sighings of adulterous inamoratas; but we ask for sound and serious thought, for that in which the heart of man will find the food of emulation, and the life of hope. This paper, and another in the "Book of Beauty," by Sir William Gell,

"On the Romantic History of the Arabs in Spain," are worthy of a better volume.

But we must take a passing glance at "The Confessions of an Elderly Gentleman," for here we find the annual moulding itself into a new variety; a variety, which we do not hesitate to pronounce the most odious and pernicious. For what in fact is it? A sort of hybrid production, a something between the fashionable novel, and the most tawdry species of the annual. We have had what are called fashionable novels poured upon us by thousands. We have been deluged with disgusting descriptions of a life devoted to heartless splendour, and heartless rivalry; to dissipation that leaves no domestic enjoyment; to expenditure that consigns thousands of unfortunate and imploring tradesmen to ruin; to the most unhallowed and filthy intrigues which ever disgraced human nature. And what have we in the story before us? Not certainly the fashionable novel, for it is not in three volumes: not the annual, for it may reappear at any day or any hour: but we have the morality of the one compressed into the dimensions of the other: we have the same profligacy of heart, the same recklessness of character and conduct, which have distinguished the worst of its predecessors. An aged seducer describes the prowess of his early wickedness. He leads us from scene to scene, from "adventure" to "adventure." He hints at intrigues, and feigns an anxiety to conceal them. He sneers at the most sacred ties of social and moral life, libels the character of our females, and concludes a vapid history of disgusting crime, by showing only that he has been the silly dupe of his own vanity and heartlessness. Now we mean not to charge the writer of this, and other similar volumes, with any deliberate intention to corrupt the morals of the rising generation. It may be, nay, we doubt not that it is, designed to act as a warning against the corruption of the age; but we maintain, that to make scenes of vice familiar to the youthful mind is not the wisest way to preserve its innocence; and we put it, therefore, to Lady Blessington herself, no less than to the public, who are to patronize her, whether such works, or, at least, such subjects, ought not at once to be put down.

Before we proceed to notice the only remaining literary fashions of the time, we must introduce to our readers a book of a description widely different from those which we have just been describing. We have been speaking of the novel of what is called *HIGH LIFE*; we have here the novel of what is denominated *LOW LIFE*. The book accidentally attracted our attention, by the humour of some extracts which we saw, and, having read it, we do not hesitate to say, that it contains more original talent than a whole host of fashionable novels. Not, indeed, that we consider

it the best specimen of the class to which it belongs. With some strength, it certainly contains more of weak and wearying detail than is often met with in the same space. There is a want of keeping, too, in the principal character, and an absence of interest in the story, which must necessarily detract from any other merits it may possess. Still, it affords a striking contrast to the publications of which we have been speaking; and, on this ground alone, we feel ourselves justified in alluding to it. If it contains so many imperfections, what must be those productions which it so far excels?

The hero of the story is Bilberry Thurland, a person, who, without much knowledge of the circumstances in which he came into the world, finds himself, during his early years, under the practical tuition of his only recognised parent—his mother. The latter is a licensed hawker, who, to the profession of the pedlar, unites the arts of the tramper; and duly instructs her son in the various mysteries of the two pursuits. At length, however, they are separated. The mother is imprisoned, and Bilberry, thrown for the first time on his own resources, passes through the different employments,—first, of a farming servant, then of an itinerant vender of sand, afterwards of a servant to a private gentleman, and, finally, of a strolling player. Here his good fortune begins to develop itself. He marries a young woman, the natural daughter of his late master, who had left her a legacy of £3000; and, having purchased a small homestead in the village where he had first lived, became, as usual, the progenitor of a numerous race, and was at length “peacefully gathered to the dust.” We subjoin an extract or two, as affording the most favourable specimen of the author’s manner.

The following is a striking and vivid picture of the workings of conscience on the mind of a murderer. The culprit has been condemned to death, and, the night before his execution, he confesses the details of the murder, which had been accomplished by the drowning of the victim. The revelation seems to have relieved his feelings; and he, not unnaturally, looks back to the mental suffering through which he has passed.

“‘I have had no peace nor rest these two years; ever since that night, I have been a miserable fellow as ever lived,’ said he; ‘that Wilson has appeared before my eyes many times.’ The Parson told him that was his evil conscience; but Bob told him again, he did not know what he was talking about, because he had not seen *it*. Says Lowe, ‘If you had seen *it*, as I have, as plain as I see you at this blessed moment, you would not say it was my conscience, any more than you yourself are my conscience.

“‘On dark rainy nights particularly,’ said he, ‘it used to come up when I was watching the kiln, (he was a brickmaker) and stand before

me as if it was alive; and if I had not known it was Wilson, I should have thought it was somebody belonging to the place. It used to come and look at me a little time, and then seem as if it wanted to warm its hands by the fire, and dry itself. But it never could; for it staid all night before the kiln, and seemed to be always dropping wet, like as if it had been just got out of the Trent. Sometimes I thought it moaned, and said the same as Wilson said about Liza Hammond when we flung him over; and that hurt me more and more: so that I used to shut my eyes, and put my fingers in my ears, and get somebody to sit down close to me in the blaze of the kiln, to see if we could not frighten it away. But what use was that? It was under my eyelids directly; and I did not know whether they were shut or open, till I felt of them with my fingers. And then it seemed to come closer and closer, and I could see water run out of its eyes, and it would say, 'Why hadn't you some pity?' And sometimes, when the wind blew hard, and drifted round the kiln in a stream, it was blown all about like smoke; but it came back again, and settled over against me, and shivered, and wrung the wet off its hands, as if it were starved to death.

"'At last,' said he, 'I got tired of seeing it, and I felt as if it would crumble my heart to dust. I took no pleasure in drinking ale, as I used to do; and I said to Jack Swanwick, one time when we had been talking about it together, said I, 'Jack, I am sick of my life, such as it is,—will you throw *me* over?' For, do you know, I must not do it myself; because, when I thought of such a thing sometimes,—as I did often stand on the kiln wall, and think I would throw myself into the fire, because I was only fit for hell,—it would come up directly, as bright as silver, and cry like a child before me.

"'So I put my hands before my face, and went down to the clay-pools to wash my forehead cold. I never could think of killing myself, but there it was, as if it wanted me to live till God should call me. So I turned to my work like a man, and took to going to church of a Sunday, as I never had done in my life before.' But I used to see it for all that, till I asked Jack Swanwick to fling me over the wall; in the same place as we had flung Wilson. * * * It was in the autumn time that was; and when we were getting towards the brig-foot, says I, 'Jack, will you do for me now?'—'I'll fling you over as soon as look at you, if you like,' says he, and he laid hold of my arm. But when we were getting against the same place, he stopped all at once, and says he, 'Bob, what is that on the wall?' Good God! I knew what it was in a moment, and I turned like ice when he said *he* saw it as well as me. 'It's that d—d Esau,' said he in his drunken courage, 'and I'll go and knock him off.' I caught hold of his arm, and held him fast, but I could not speak. Jack was resolute, and pulled hard to go; but when he saw he could not get away, he doubled his fist, and held it up towards where the thing was, and says he, 'You devil you, what have you come out of the Trent for?' And then he made a sudden start to get at it; but something came across his mind at that moment, and he fell down on his knees, and prayed to the Lord like a preacher.

"'When he got up again, his face dropped sweat; and, says he,

'Bob, let us go away from here, for there is a dead man about, come out of his dust again. He licked my eyes with a tongue like iron, and I can see the stones of that wall, and Wilson's blood on them, as plain as sunshine, and yet it is as dark as pitch.'

"So we tried to cross the brig, but it came again, and set a row of fire across from one wall to the other, and stood in the middle itself, with its arms and head hanging down, as if it were dead. We turned back and got into the Horse-shoes again, (the public-house, which they had just left), and there we stopped till they turned us out at twelve. But we durst not go over the brig again; so we went and staid under a hedge all that cold night, but we never shut our eyes."

There is a beautiful little episode of an Italian boy, with whom Bilberry accidentally fell in. It was at the moment when Bilberry was first separated from his mother. The boy had had his hurdy-gurdy smashed, and the leg of his monkey broken. The monkey died, and Bilberry and his new friend having buried it, set off to seek their fortunes.

"The evening proved extremely warm;....a narrow river, that flowed through the fields, grassed down to the very edge, tempted them at first sight to strip off their clothes; and, as these were neither abundant nor very closely hung on, by the next minute they were in the stream. The young Italian, who boasted he could swim, dashed, at once, into the sullen blackness of the farther side, and, in a moment, was gone. The undermined bank, and the tangled roots laid bare, seemed to tell of a deep bed and a treacherous current. Bilberry instinctively got back on to the grass, and, helpless himself, shouted in vain for help. The grazing cattle held up their heads a moment at the noise; but neither man nor dwelling could be seen across the silent meadows. He turned again to the stream; there was no cry—no bubbling in the water—no struggling against death. Only once, at a long distance down the river, did he see the wavy black hair of the boy come up above the surface a moment, as the body apparently was interrupted in its course by the boughs of a fallen tree.

"Yet Bilberry stood a long time watching in miserable hope. He could scarcely believe what during the last few minutes had passed before his eyes; and, once or twice, he involuntarily called to his companion by name. But he had heard the call of a GREATER VOICE, bidding him come away for ever from a world too unkind. Those who had broken his music, and beaten him, the other night, had done him but little harm. He had no more need of begging; for he had gone to where, for such as him, mercy unasked bestows abundantly."

One extract more:—it describes the last days of William Spowage, one of Bilberry's early companions. He was grown old; and the author proceeds:—

"That spirit, which, before Justice Barton, had boasted of never having received sixpence from any parish in England, was all gone, broken down, quite forgotten, under the infirmities and oppression of years; and a crust or a farthing, was a gift received with many thanks.

" Friends, be not hard-hearted. Man may be a hypocrite, a villain, a fool,—we ourselves may be one or the other of these before we die;—who knows what he shall yet come to? Man may be old and poor, with all his hypocrisy and folly; 'but man is man for all that'; and, as such, while life is in him, nature loudly declares to us, that between his kind and him, the cord of sympathy shall not be broken. In the contemplation of the present, the past, if not totally forgotten, is, and ought to be, obscured by the veil of human charity.

" For me, I cannot look on an old man, whatever he may have been, without tenderness, and pity, and veneration, at once rising up and demanding their places in my bosom. If he be poor and helpless, charity also asks to be admitted, and to intercede for him.

" Creation hath ten thousand things that demand our veneration,—the bare and hoary mountain, the ever-enduring sea, the unchangeable heavens over our heads, even the fading yet majestic old oak of the moor: but of all things beneath the sun, MAN, in his decline, is infinitely the most venerable. To think how the mind has been broken, the heart has been subdued! How the delights of childhood and youth have passed! How the world, in which *we* rejoice, has become a blank to him! To think of all the joys that are passed—of all the misery that is now!

" Nature gives us all good hearts at our birth: but the world meddles therewith, and sends them back to the grave ruined.

" 'William Spowage, I give thee my last groat!'

" As I said this, I passed the old man by a thorn hedge-side, as he was hobbling along through one of the most rural and beautiful parts of England. It was south of the Trent, not more than five miles from the old town of Nottingham. Little did it enter my mind, at that moment, that I should never see him again; that he would never reach his destination that night. But so it was.

" This was about sunset. I had been enjoying a country ramble since shortly after daybreak the same morning. I had passed through many villages, through many pastoral districts, through valley, field, and over mountain; but amongst them all did I find nothing to be compared for beauty of situation and variety of scenery, to this delightful village of Clifton, which was destined to be the last reposing place of the bones of William Spowage.

* * * * *

" A beautiful evening it was; and one which the events of the night that followed served to impress more fully on my memory.

" I sate on an old bench at the door (of the village alehouse), the church on one hand, a wide grove of mast-like trees on the other, from the depths of which the melancholy wood-pigeon cooed hollowly and mournfully, while the blackbird and linnet, from some far low hedge-top, sent their evening songs along the uplands, like the voice of Nature herself, bidding the soul of the dwellers there be at rest and peace. Before me, and far below, at the foot of the high precipitous hill on which the grove is situated, swept the broad waters of the river Trent, while over its quiet surface flew a thousand swallows and sand martins,

which annually make their homes in the high bare precipice which terminates the western end of the grove. Overhead, between the parted branches, the eye caught a few glimpses of the warm and bright blue zenith; while below, level with the sight, the extremity of the western sky shone between a hundred slender stems, like a chequered work of jet and gold. Everything amid this scene was perfectly still; even the gentle wind, which, while the sun was up, had tempered the heat of the day, had now died all away, and left the leaves, drooping from the beech and sycamore, unstirred, and the tall seed stems of the rank grass beneath, as quiet and untrembling as though they were carved in alabaster.

"An eternal sabbath seemed to reign there, but for the ploughman or the sower seen on the surrounding hill-sides, or the resounding of the woodman's axe being heard now and then from the depths of some far-off plantation.

"It was an hour for reflection; and, influenced in the train of my thoughts by the unhappy object I had shortly before passed on the hedge-row side, I considered pensively on the life of man, the fate to which he is born, the end and purpose of his whole existence.

* * * "As my thoughts ran thus, the object who had excited them came along the village, cottage after cottage, begging his bread.

"Still, I felt the weight of sorrowful thoughts. They of whom he begged were little better than he. It is hard to beg; it is harder to turn away the beggar. The heart can more easily be subdued to humility, than hardened to unkindness. A beautiful truth, this, in the page of natural humanity. May it ever be so!

"I watched him so long as the disposition of the cottages and the direction of the road allowed him to remain in sight; sat musing another hour in the gathering gloom, while the bat flitted awkwardly along the air, and the owlet screamed from the steeples of the grove; and then retired for the night to an humble pallet prepared for me beneath the roof of that rustic inn.

"On arising early next morning, the first intelligence I received was, that one of the villagers, having gone down to the Trent at daybreak to water his horses, had discovered the body of the old beggar, who was asking charity in the village the preceding day, lying in very shallow water, quite dead. Such then, was the end of William Spowage."

Having thus gone over and placed in strong contrast the bulk of the literary changes of the present day, their spirit and their probable results, we proceed to the remaining portion of our task,—the cheap sheets, and the reprints of standard works of literature. In these we have the most unqualified satisfaction. If we were to draw our opinion of the morals, no less than of the literary taste of the time, from the trumpery and tinsel character of the publications, which we have here found it necessary to condemn, we should necessarily pronounce the age to be both frivolous and corrupt. We should regard it as devoted to mere dissipation and heartless folly: we should suppose that every thing

like the plain old English character was gone; that we were arrived at that stage of national luxury, that corruption of morals and of taste, which all history has shown to precede a national decline. This, however, would be unjust. That a corruption of taste and manners, of morals, and modes of thinking, does exist in this country, as it must among all wealthy nations, is too true: but we have only to turn to the publications which circulate amongst the middle classes, amongst the vast mass of those who may be said to afford a true sample of the majority—and we shall be at once convinced that this corruption is comparatively partial. We shall see that the frivolous and heartless productions, so much puffed and paraded, by reviewers and publishers, are merely addressed to the frivolous and the heartless; and that there is an ample demand, from the thinking, the inquiring, the sober and the religious public, for works of a higher and a better class. There never was a time, when a greater number of excellent volumes was diffused through the families of the middle classes in this country, and, as we have already said, when the influence of sound reading and enquiry extended itself so far down into the very cottages and dwellings of the poor. Literature has been made as cheap and accessible as it was possible for an extensive demand, stereotyping, and steam-presses to make it. A multitude of sheets, containing a mass of the most valuable information, and distinguished by a high moral tone, have been circulated at the price of one penny, or three halfpence, each, and have thus been enabled to make their way, for the first time, through the lowest alleys of crowded cities, through field and forest, and over moor and mountain, to the huts of the labourer, the miner, the shepherd, and the fisherman. Nor has the information, conveyed in such publications as the Penny Magazine,* and Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, been confined solely to the poor. These works have been *emphatically gleaners*,—gleaners from all books of art, science, philosophy, and general literature: they have collected facts, that lay wide asunder, and beyond the reach of thousands; and they have, by this means, recommended themselves to the attention of persons in every rank of society. In fact, they have attempted, and we think, successfully, to awaken a spirit of enquiry, and a more intellectual tone of feeling, in society. Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, in particular, contains articles on morals, social manners, historical, and even antiquarian, subjects, of the most interesting description; and, as a

* We are glad of this opportunity to correct an unintentional error in the first number of this Review. The remarks, made at page 173, in disparagement of the Penny Magazine, were intended for another publication. They certainly do not apply to the "Penny Magazine."

proof of its popularity, can already boast, that it circulates the enormous number of upwards of seventy thousand copies per week.

This, then, is a literary fashion evidently pregnant with the most important consequences to the community: the other, and the last which we have to notice,—the reprints of standard works in monthly volumes, is not less remarkable, either as an indication of popular taste, or as tending still farther to regulate and improve it. This mode of publication was first attempted in the small Cyclopædias, or Libraries. There was the 'Family,' the 'Classical,' the 'Sunday,' and the 'Novellist's Libraries; the 'Library of Romance,' of 'Entertaining Knowledge,' of 'Useful Knowledge,' of 'Natural History;' Constable's Miscellany,' 'Lardner's Cabinet Library,' and 'Cabinet Cyclopædia,' &c. &c.: and these, by a very natural transition, led to the adoption of that plan, which is likely to lay a more lasting and beneficial hold on the public mind,—the reprints of some of the best works of our standard English writers. This important change commenced with the Waverly Novels, and has been pursued through all the works of Sir Walter Scott. We have already had, under this system, handsome editions of the works of Byron, Crabbe, Shakspeare, Milton, and Coleridge: we have in progress, those of Cowper, Wordsworth, Pope, Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, and others; and we are already informed, that these are to be followed by a series of what the publisher calls our 'Imperial Classics,' to commence with Burnet's '*History of His Own Times.*' It is evident that a more general acquaintance with the works of our best writers, will be the necessary consequence of this fortunate innovation.

As we have mentioned the reprints of our standard writers, we cannot part from the subject, without noticing, among those which have already appeared, 'The Life, Letters, and Poetical Works of Cowper.' The subject, indeed, is one, to which, on a future occasion, we shall probably revert in a separate article. In the meantime, however, we cannot forbear adverting to it in a few concluding remarks; for it is too closely connected with our present topic, to be entirely passed over in silence. It is, in fact, by such publications as this, that we are enabled to vindicate the national taste, and to prove, that, with all the meretricious frivolity of certain classes, England is still sound at heart, still full of happy and intelligent families, where every thing that is simple, every thing that is pure, every thing that is characterized by sound sense, and sound morality, is yet valued and enjoyed.

What a striking contrast, indeed, does the spirit, and even the outward form, of these volumes present, to the spirit and fashion of the works, which we were lately noticing! There, all was *showy*

and unsubstantial. There wanted the heart and the soul of sound writing: the breathings of pure domestic affection, and the aspirings after the improvement of the race. We read for the most part without satisfaction, and often with disgust. But here, we find ourselves, at once, in the very sanctuary of domestic love, amongst spirits of intelligence, and beings of unvitiated tastes. We feel around us an atmosphere of true English worth. The personages recommended to our admiration are worthy of it: they are specimens of the true gentility of England; simple, yet elegant, living in the very heart of peace, in the beautiful retirements of our fair country, with books, and music, and hospitality, and refined enjoyments about them; while the chief character is ever employed on subjects calculated to crown him with a pure immortality, and become an everlasting legacy of high thoughts and ennobling feelings to future generations. What a contrast is here! And yet, it is in this very contrast that we discover the proudest vindication of the taste and character of the people. If there are some, who sigh over the tawdry and unmeaning trash, which we have had occasion to condemn, there are more who feel their minds exalted, and their spirits raised, above "the earth that compasseth them," by the "sweet songs" of Cowper. With these, who are emphatically the *nation*, his name is as "a household word:" his song and his sufferings are entwined in their affections; and they hail the fortunate occasion, which is about to make his virtuous musings "familiar things" among their families.

We have no design to institute a comparison between the two editions of Cowper, simultaneously issuing from the press. Southey's is the one before us, and as we have not seen the other, it is the only one of which we can be expected to speak. On the editor's qualifications for his task, it would be superfluous to dwell. In a knowledge of English literature he is second to none; his industry is proverbial; and from his poetical and domestic tastes, he is the very man to comprehend, and do justice to, Cowper. Yet, we felt not the full extent of Southey's powers, of his indefatigable disposition, and, when uninfluenced by any immediate religious or political antipathy, of his candid and discriminating spirit, until we had risen from the perusal of these volumes. Besides the life of Cowper, we have biographical notices of each distinguished contemporary that came within its sphere, together with a mass of notes, which, in the depth of their research, and the interesting nature of their details, have been seldom surpassed. At every point, the writer has prepared us to take a just view of the position of the man, and of the labours of the poet. In the history of English poetry, suggested by the mention of

The Task, in the relation of the various incidents, and the introduction of the various characters, which occupy his attention, the same depth of judgment, the same extent and accuracy of information, and, above all, the same practical wisdom and kindness of feeling, are every where discernible. Thus, without attempting to magnify the talents, or conceal the foibles of Hayley, he contrives to interest us in that writer's character, and to place him in that beautiful situation, where, from the very absence of all literary jealousy, he at once makes his way to our affections. The scene is at Earham, the beautiful residence of Hayley, in the neighbourhood of the southern coast.* It is in the day of Cowper's literary supremacy; yet he and his Mary are received and entertained there, with a cordiality, and a rejoicing sympathy, unexampled in the history of letters,—and this, by the very man, who feels that his own reputation is, at the same moment, waning before the brightness that encompasseth his guest! In the life of Cowper, few things have struck us so forcibly, as the many delightful friendships, with which Providence, as if to counterbalance the melancholy influence of his mental malady, continued to surround him. As one consoler of his dreary hours died, another invariably sprung up: and it would, perhaps, be difficult to find a piece of biography which brings before us such an assemblage of charming characters as we here meet with. There are Mary Unwin, her son, the Throckmortons, Lady Austin, Lady Hesketh, Johnny of Norfolk, Hill, Rose, Bull, Hayley and his son, Walter Bagot, and the rest. And where, indeed, is the novel, which contains such deeply interesting matter? The young bright life of the youthful poet in London, with his Temple associates, Thurlow, Hill, and others; his literary associates, Colman, Lloyd, Thornton, and Churchill; those two fair and sunny creatures, his cousins, Harriet and Theodora Cowper; and the attachment between Theodora and himself, which though prevented, by wise parental authority, from proceeding to marriage, produced an indelible impression on the mind of the poet, and, in the lady, one of the most beautiful and inextinguishable instances of devotion united with prudence, upon record. Then the dark chapter of his agony about the office in the House of Lords, and the mental aberration consequent upon it: the attempt at suicide, and the life-long despondency. We know of nothing more romantic, more absorbing, or more solemnly impressive. Again, how lovely are the characters that rise up to console and cheer this sensitive and intellectual being through the retired paths of life. Look at Lady Austin, and see, in her example,

* It is now the property of Mrs. Huskisson.

what we often owe to woman in the privacy of the world. Without her we should have lost "The Task," "John Gilpin," and the "Translation of Homer;" and Cowper, with all the magnificent stores and feelings of his beauteous mind, would, probably, have passed away into oblivion. Without the unwearied care, and watchful devotion of Mary Unwin, and the open hand and heart of Lady Hesketh, the same result must have followed. These are the women whose names have a title to be recorded, whose portraits, speaking still of the virtues of the departed, deserve to be in the hands of the rising generation. The character of Lady Hesketh in particular, as every where presented in these volumes, full, as it is, of generosity and good-sense, strikes us as one of the most beautiful and finely balanced, which we recollect to have met with. And then, in addition to all this, we have the radiant spirit of Johnny of Norfolk at hand, ready to administer affectionately to all the wishes of his illustrious kinsman; Romney, the artist, and Hurdis, the poet, sharing their society; and Charlotte Smith writing her "Old Manor House" in the morning, and reading the composition of the day for their amusement in the evening.

But it is time to present our readers with an extract from this interesting work. The following is the substance of a letter to Mr. Southey, from a gentleman who withholds his name for very satisfactory reasons. It is new matter, and of a kind which will show what materials of romance may be found among the incidents of real life.

"John Cowper, the brother of the poet, was, in his boyhood, the school-fellow and early companion of my own father, and continued to be his most intimate and valued friend, till his early career was terminated, by the death recorded in his brother's letters. My father had the strongest affection for John Cowper's memory, and seldom talked of him without such sorrow for his loss, as made him willing to avoid the subject; but I well remember that, when, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, I once was running with a shilling to the door to have my fortune told by some travelling gipsies, then begging at it, my father stopped me, and, with more seriousness than I expected, besought me to give him my solemn promise, that, as long as I lived, I would never indulge that idle curiosity. Of course I did so, and enquired the reason; as he might be sure I was not superstitious enough to believe, and must know it was, at most, but an idle and innocent piece of nonsense. He told me the reason was, the effect such predictions had in after-life, and in hours of weakness, after some casual circumstance, perhaps, had proved true. He then told me the following story of John Cowper, under circumstances which made such an impression on my mind, that I can trust my memory, spite of the intervening period of nearly fifty years; but, in truth, it has never been out of my thoughts.

"John Cowper and my father, were both, when children, at a prepara-

tory school, at Felstead, in (I think) Essex. They both together enquired their future fortunes, from a travelling gipsy tinker, who came to beg at the school, and in an old soldier's red coat. He was a man, and not an old woman, as it seems the poet Cowper had been told. My father said, that his own share of the prophecy was common-place nonsense, which he forgot; but that it was predicted to Cowper, that he would only remain a very short time at Felstead, and would, after leaving it, be sent to a *larger* school; that he would go to the University, and, before he left it, would form an attachment strong enough to give him much disappointment, as it would not be mutual; that he would not marry *before* he was thirty, but that, *after* that age, his fate became obscure, and the lines of his hand showed no more prognostics of futurity." It actually happened, from some family accident which I have forgot, but, I believe, the illness and death of a near relative, that John Cowper was summoned to go home, by a servant who came express. There was nothing very marvellous in this coincidence, even supposing it accidental, or in the itinerant prophet having heard of some such illness. Cowper, too, did not return to Felstead, but was sent, I think, to Eton. My father, who was not an Etonian, continued, I believe, to hear from him; but, at all events, they again met at the University, where their intimacy was not only renewed, but cemented by the most cordial friendship. It continued after my father left Cambridge, where, if I did not misunderstand him, Cowper continued, at least occasionally, to reside. They saw each other continually, corresponded with each other, and belonged to a set of young friends, who, after leaving college, met by agreement annually, for three weeks or a month, at Grantham; and some of them hunted. My father married in a few years, and John Cowper more than once accompanied him and my mother into —. In these visits, he contrived to accomplish another part of the prediction, by becoming much attached to a younger sister of my father's, who assuredly did not return his affection. All these coincidences made an impression on John Cowper's imagination, and he often reminded my father of their interview with the pedlar at Felstead. When Cowper approached the age of thirty, I think, or at least, that which the gipsy fixed as the term of his prediction, my father saw him again at Cambridge, I believe on his way to town. Cowper was walking with him in one of the college gardens, in one of the avenues where the gate was open in front of them, and suddenly interrupted the conversation by exclaiming, 'Did you see that man pass?' My father, who observed nothing, asked him what man he meant? John Cowper replied, 'The very man you and I met at Felstead, and in a soldier's jacket. I saw him pass the gate.' They both ran to it, but in the public road saw no such person. Cowper said, 'It is a warning—you know he could predict nothing of me after my thirtieth year.' He mentioned this more than once, while my father remained in Cambridge, though not apparently dejected, and, I believe, in tolerable health. The real circumstances thus detailed, were, probably, known only to themselves; and John Cowper does not seem to have made mention of them, except in such illusions as gave rise to the vague reports which his brother disbelieved. It was, however, the last time that my father saw his friend. He sickened, whether from the prediction, or from some natural cause; and, surrounded

by zealous religionists, eager for what is called a conversion, his old and tried friends were never apprised of his danger, or their letters replied to, till they were shocked by the news of his death."

But it is necessary to draw to a conclusion. If, in the early part of this paper, we beheld the literature of the day gradually sinking to repose on the tasteless and meretricious novel of high life,—in the latter portion, we have had the satisfaction to see it rising to vigorous and healthful exertion, and promising to confine the heartless details of still more heartless intrigues to the circles to which they appear to be addressed. As we have already said, we have no fear for the *nation*. Whatever may be the taste of the idle, the dissolute, and the voluptuous, that of the *community* is still sound; and, while such books as Southey's Cowper, and the other reprints which we have mentioned, can find a circulation, we have little need to be apprehensive for the literary character of the people.

ART. VI.—1. *The Case of Maynooth College considered, with a History of the first establishment of that Seminary; an Account of the System of Education pursued in it; and a Review of the effect it has had on the character of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland.* Dublin. 1836.

2. *Maynooth in 1834.* By Eugene Francis O'Beirne, late Student at Maynooth College. New Edition. Dublin. 1835.

3. *Eighth Report on Education in Ireland, with the Appendix.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 19th June 1827.

IT is curious to observe the different tone and temper, in which, as two opposite forces combine to produce a diagonal motion, the writers of the two pamphlets before us struggle towards the same object, openly avowed in the one, and scarcely concealed in the other. The first is a well-made little book, swelled out, by means of large type and spacious margin, to ninety clear pages—*professing* to draw its information from the most authentic sources, and affecting the utmost moderation in its statements; although, with a due disregard for the ordinary rules of logical deduction, its conclusions are bigoted and unfair in the last degree. The writer has not thought proper to give his name; and we have not heard anything, with regard to the authorship, sufficiently probable to warrant the trouble of a conjecture. The second is the very reverse, in almost every particular. With less of pretension in its exterior, it is all insolence, bluster, and abuse,

from the beginning to the end: the statements, almost without an exception, are groundless, or distorted; and a total disregard of truth is visible in every page. Yet, this insolent tirade is in fact a *corrected* edition, from which, "in deference to the punctilious judgment of the most influential Dublin publishers,"* it was found necessary to exclude a great deal of disgusting ribaldry, which they were ashamed to give the public with the sanction of their names. In its present form, does it not speak volumes for the punctilious judgment of the "influential Dublin publishers?"

The pamphlet bears on its title-page the name of Eugene Francis O'Beirne, late student at Maynooth College: but it is commonly believed not to have been written by him, and the report of his own friends pronounces it "the ingenious device" of a gentleman, who has since given some of his own productions to the public, under a much higher name than that of Eugene Francis O'Beirne. The intemperate scurrility, however, which is here put into the mouth of the alleged author, betrays too much knowledge of the rule, "*reddere personæ convenientia cuique*," to allow us to suppose, for a moment, that it can have been written by the avowed author of the clumsy "*Encyclical Letter of Gregory the Sixteenth*." How unnatural, how diseased the state of religious feeling in these countries, when a malignant hatred of the Catholic Religion is a sure passport to patronage and reward! No matter how worthless or insignificant the individual—a degraded priest, or an expelled student,—talent can be purchased—character and credit forgot or assumed—truth and virtue dispensed with altogether! Let him but go through the idle ceremony of turning his back on the Church which has already discarded him, and he becomes at once an instrument fitted for all the purposes of its enemies!

Before we proceed to examine the particular merits of the pamphlets before us, it may be as well to enquire, for a moment, into the decency of the attack which we are about to repel. Maynooth College is undoubtedly a public establishment, open to the inspection, and subject to the animadversions, of the public: but if it shall turn out, that the very support which it receives is scarcely better than an insult, that, where much is required, little only is granted, and that, while the religion of one-eighth of the Irish population revels in the luxury of state provision, that of the whole remaining portion is left in comparative wretchedness and destitution, the reader may, perhaps, be tempted to enquire whether the attacks, that have been levelled against this solitary Catholic establishment, come with a very good grace from the members of the favoured minority. The Catholics of

* Preface, p. iv.

Ireland constitute seven-eighths of the entire population; and though their portion of the general burdens of the country is not in the exact ratio of their number, yet that number will enable us to form some idea of the amount of their contributions to the purposes of the state. Of course, they have a right to expect a proportionate share of advantages in return. But that share they do not receive: and it is past endurance, therefore, that the very persons who profit most largely by this injustice, should turn round upon their defrauded countrymen, and endeavour, by their calumnies, to deprive them even of the paltry pittance that is doled out to them. We subjoin a few items, which may startle the most hardened upholder of the present outrageously disproportioned application of Ecclesiastical Revenues, and other funds, appropriated to the support of Protestantism.

* Estimated amount of the Tithe Compositions of			
Ireland	-	-	£668,888 14 2
† Estimated Income of the Irish Ecclesiastical Commissioners	-	-	83,440 3 3
‡ Net Amount of Episcopal Revenue in Ireland, on an average of three years, ending Dec. 31st, 1831	-	-	128,808 8 3
Between 1802 and 1834, the following sums were expended:—§			
Protestant Charter-Schools	-	-	741,773 0 0
Foundling Hospitals	-	-	899,295 0 0
Between 1802 and 1831:—			
Society for Discourtenancing Vice	-	-	124,721 0 0
Between 1802 and 1824:—			
¶ Grants to the Board of First Fruits	-	-	595,382 0 0
** Royal Bounty	-	-	25,400 0 0

So far, the expenditure is purely Irish, and strictly Protestant.

Net Income of the Sinecure Rectories in England and		
Wales	-	£ 17,095
Ditto, of Archiepiscopal and Episcopal Sees	-	160,292
Ditto, of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches	-	208,289
Ditto, of Separate Revenue of Dignitaries	-	66,405
Ditto, of Benefices, with or without the cure of souls	-	3,055,451
* Total Revenue,	-	£3,507,532

* Return ordered 16th April 1835.

† Ibid.

‡ Return ordered 28th August 1833.

§ Return ordered 18th April 1834.

|| Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

** Miscellaneous Estimates, 1836.—The number of Dissenters is 494572.—(Paper ordered 14th August 1834.) Thus, while the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland scarcely reach to one-fifteenth of the number of their Catholic fellow-countrymen, they receive annually three times the sum voted to the latter. This disproportion, however, is trifling compared with that noticed above.

* Report of Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Revenues.

x 2

† Money expended in purchasing Lands and Glebes for the Poor Clergy in England, between 1800 and 1831				1,607,650
‡ Commissioners for Building Churches :—				
	1834	-	-	6,000
	1835	-	-	3,000
	1836	-	-	3,000
Ditto,—Scotland :—				
	1834	-	-	1,544
	1836	-	-	1,431
§ Additional Churches, (Great Britain) 1834				40,000
Additional Ecclesiastical Establishments in the W. Indies :—				
	1834	-	-	19,800
	1835	-	-	20,800
	1836	-	-	20,300
¶ Rebuilding Chapels in Jamaica, 1835				12,750

Opposite to this enormous array of Protestant expenditure, we find the single, solitary sum annually voted by Parliament—

Education of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland, £8,928.

Here is a specimen of the equal rights enjoyed under the British Constitution !!

To obviate the possibility of cavil, we have abstained from noticing the revenues of Trinity College, Dublin; because Catholics are admitted to a small share of the advantages it affords; and, as the Maynooth Grant is exclusively for the Irish Catholic Clergy, in making the contrast, we shall omit altogether the items of expenditure which are not strictly Irish.

If we divide equally over the intermediate years the entire sums granted to Charter-schools, Foundling Hospitals, the Society for the Suppression of Vice, and the Board of First-Fruits, and take the sum of the separate items applied annually to the support of Protestantism in Ireland, we shall arrive at the astounding, and apparently incredible fact, that, under the free and equal laws of Britain, THE STATE APPROPRIATES, FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE RELIGION OF ONE-EIGHTH OF THE ENTIRE POPULATION, ABOVE ONE HUNDRED AND SEVEN TIMES THE SUM ANNUALLY VOTED TO THE REMAINING SEVEN-EIGHTHS. Or, confining ourselves to particular items of the same order, if, with the amount of public money granted to Maynooth College, from its foundation, in 1795, to the present year, we compare the grants made to the *Protestant Charter-schools alone*, we shall find that the *sum voted, in a period of thirty-two years*, for the maintenance of this bungling, ill-managed, and atrocious

† Return ordered 28th August 1833.

‡ Paper ordered to be printed, 18th July 1836.

§ Paper ordered to be printed 18th July, 1836.

|| Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

system, is not far from *three times the amount*, which, *up to the present time*, the British Parliament has dealt out by annual votes, for the support of this solitary Catholic Institution, amid the growling bigotry, or contemptuous indifference, of the inveterate enemies of Catholics.

And yet this grant, as the public knows, is neither permanent in its nature, nor uncontrolled in its application. It is held on the precarious tenure of an annual vote of the House of Commons; and is subject, not only to the management of Trustees and Visitors appointed by act of Parliament, but also to the rigorous scrutiny of the Board of Public Accounts. If this annual vote were a matter of mere routine, the system, though ungracious, might yet be tolerable. But it is the very reverse. More of insult and calumny, and misrepresentation, has been disgorged against the Catholic religion, in the stupid debates upon this paltry grant, than on any other subject that has been introduced to the notice of the House: and many a time, while writhing under some of these periodical inflictions, we have found it difficult to regard the College in any other light than as an appendage of the State, which is supported, simply that it may be the creature of its insolent caprice, or the butt of its bigoted malignity.

It could hardly be expected, that any establishment should rise to great literary distinction, when left to its own resources, particularly, if they were narrow, or inadequate to the demands upon it: still less, under the jealous eye of a suspicious and illiberal taskmaster. The same arts, which fled before the oppression of the barbarian, returned to light under the fostering munificence of Leo; and, in every age, the enlightened patronage of the monarch has invariably called all the energies of genius into action. The lot of Maynooth College, however, has been cast in another urn. The reader will recollect the situation of British politics, at the period of its foundation,—the long series of misfortunes which had attended the British arms, the loss of the North American colonies, the gloomy aspect of Continental affairs, the still more formidable union which prevailed at home, and, above all, the gathering spirit of disaffection which, to the knowledge of the government, was spreading among all classes in Ireland. Under such circumstances, no one can mistake the soundness of the policy, which sought, by concessions to the Catholic party, at once to secure a claim to their gratitude, and excite the jealousy of their Presbyterian confederates. But, if the desire of securing the gratitude of the Catholic party were sincere, it is to be regretted, that the kindly policy, which prompted the boon in the first instance, was defeated by the cold indifference which left the young Institution to contend, unassisted, with the difficulties inseparable

from its early labours, and the virulent opposition which it encountered from every quarter. All its movements were observed with suspicion—its loyalty on the one hand, its sincerity on the other. Its energies were cramped by this perpetual surveillance. Improvements, from time to time, becoming necessary or desirable, were left untried, for want of means to make the experiment. Once, indeed, under the administration of the Duke of Bedford, £5000 were voted for the execution of some projected improvement. But the hope inspired by this indulgence was again blasted—the application for a renewal of this grant was unsuccessful; and the College, although confessedly incompetent to supply the wants of the Catholic Mission of Ireland, has been suffered to struggle on, with the same inadequate resources. Hence, the original bounty of Parliament, inconsiderable as it was, has been in part diverted from its primitive purpose. The funds, allotted for the education of the candidates for the priesthood, were necessarily, as the numbers began to encrease, employed in erecting new buildings for their reception; and it is a positive fact, that the extensive pile of building, in which the students of Maynooth are now accommodated, has been raised by the hard-wrought economy of years, from the narrow means doled out annually by government. Even supposing, therefore, that, in the practical details of the Collegiate system, anything objectionable should be discovered, it is easy to see to whom the deficiency is to be attributed. If more has not been done, the fault lies with those whose bigotry has been a drag-chain on the liberality or justice of the legislature; and, far from exposing, they should rather fling their mantle over, defects, which are, indisputably, of their own creation.

But it is time to turn to the pamphlets. From a sort of apathy which we have often had occasion to observe, where a body, not individuals, was concerned, no notice seems to have been taken of them, by any member of the establishment thus violently assailed. Indeed, few would be willing to lower themselves into collision with the scurrility which characterizes the latter of the two. At home, where the circumstances of the case, and the real character of the Institution are known, this silence produces comparatively little mischief. But, at a distance from the source of information, many may be destitute of the means, many also of the inclination, to investigate the truth; and this, therefore, no less than the tone of cool, unblushing assurance, in which the charges against the College are put forward, must be our apology for devoting some pages of the present number to their examination.

One word before we proceed farther, with regard to the degree

of credit due to the statements contained in "*Maynooth in 1834.*" The alleged author was a student of the College for somewhat more than a year-and-a-half; having passed through the Christmas and Summer Terms of the Rhetoric, and the Christmas Term of the Logic, year. At the end of this short course, the details of which were very unpromising, he was expelled from the College; and seems to have employed the period which has since elapsed, in seeking redress, or, more properly, revenge, having appealed to the Lord Lieutenant, to the Visitors, to the Parliament, and, in several forms, to the public at large. Under any circumstances, a statement coming from such a quarter, should be received with suspicion. If, however, the writer had possessed tact enough, to adopt a tone of moderation, and consider well how far he might push his accusation, without destroying all semblance of probability; if he had not, by the looseness of his argument, no less than the virulence of his invective, stamped upon the motives of his protégé undoubted evidence of an anxiety to abuse, rather than to examine, to gratify personal feelings, rather than to give the public a credible statement of abuses which called for correction, he might have gone a good way in disarming this natural distrust, and secured some chance of a patient reading, if not of sympathy, for his imagined wrongs. But, as it is, we conceive it impossible that any man, no matter how bigoted, should read even a few pages, without seeing through the flimsy veil which has been flung over his motives, and which, flimsy as it is, was adopted in this second edition, as the reader will remember, only "in deference to the punctilious judgment" of the Orange publishers of Dublin! The writer, indeed, who had the boldness to charge the whole body of Superiors and Professors with deliberate perjury, and the no less odious crime, subornation of perjury,* cannot be expected to feel much delicacy with regard to the less statutable offences of ignorance and intolerance: and it would be idle, indeed, to look for much regard to truth in one, who is unblushing enough to represent the whole body of students, as lost so completely to every feeling of honour and moral dignity, that "he never knew a dangerous syllable dropped in the presence of *three* students, of which the Dean did not gain cognizance."†—Even in mere matters of fact, he has not taken the trouble to guard against obvious and palpable contradictions. He decides, for example, as from his own knowledge,‡ on the merits of Professors whose classes, even from his own account, he never could have attended: he expresses his opinions of lectures, at which he never was present;

* Pp. 8-9.

† P. 40.

‡ P. 53.

perverts, or misquotes statutes, with which every one connected with the College is acquainted; and represents the Vice-President as holding the chair of Scripture, which, had he felt any concern for accuracy, he might easily have ascertained to be untrue! Altogether, we have seldom seen a book which better deserves the epigram, written for the once notorious Sir Nathaniel Wraxall—

“ Men, measures, seasons, scenes, and facts all,
Misquoting, misstating,
Misplacing, misdating,

Here *lies* —————

How unfortunate for the poor young man, that he entrusted the “making up of his materials” to persons who have manifested so little consideration for his character for veracity! We have introduced the pamphlet, therefore, into this paper, not because we conceive it possesses any individual weight, but because the charges which it puts forward—to some extent, indeed, divested of their gross and clumsy character—have been adopted, and retailed, by other writers of more art, though scarcely of more candour, than the author of “Maynooth in 1834.”

The arrangement, at least, whatever may be its other merits, of “the case of Maynooth College considered,” is orderly and methodical; and, feeling satisfied that the best defence of the College is a plain statement of its entire system, we shall extract, or condense the account given by this writer, hostile though he be, adding only such observations, as may be casually suggested, or called forth by his not unfrequent misrepresentations. The pamphlet is divided into three parts;—a history of the circumstances which led to the foundation of the College; an account of the system of education pursued in it; and a review of the effect it has produced upon the character of the Catholic Clergy of Ireland. The first part, as regarding a period anterior to the foundation of the College, has no reference to its present character. Although, therefore, the statements contained in it are somewhat loose and inaccurate, we shall not stop to examine it; but proceed at once to the second, which details the system of education. The following is the author’s account of the discipline and government of the College:—

“The superintendence and instruction of the students are committed to the following Officers and Professors:—the President, Vice-President, Senior and Junior Dean, Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment, Bursar, three Professors of Theology, a Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew, one of Natural, and one of Moral Philosophy, one of Rhetoric, one of Humanity, one of English Elocution and French, and one of Irish.

"The College is governed by statutes, drawn up by the Trustees, and submitted to the approval of the Lord Lieutenant. These were first compiled and published in the year 1800. They were afterwards altered and enlarged in the year 1820. The former are to be found in the Parliamentary papers relative to Maynooth, printed in 1808: the latter are given in the appendix to the eighth report of the Commissioners in the year 1826. There is also a 'Rule of Piety and of Domestic Discipline,' which is in a great measure taken from the laws of the Irish College at Rome, the Collegium Ludovicinum.

"To the President is committed the general inspection of the whole establishment. It is his office to see that all the subordinate teachers are attentive to the discharge of their several duties. The power of expelling students for offences against the statutes is lodged in him. He, also, on consulting with the Vice-President and Deans, determines concerning the candidates for holy orders. And, at the meetings of the Board of the Trustees, he reports to them the state of the entire college. The salary annexed to this situation is £326 a-year: the Reverend M. Montague now holds the office. He was educated in the College, and has never left it.

"The Vice-President's duty is to assist the President in his general inspection of the students, and, when he is absent, or unable by illness to discharge his duties, to act as his substitute, with the same powers. His salary is £150 a-year.

"To the Senior and Junior Deans is committed the immediate superintendence of the discipline of the College; they attend to the morals, and watch the dispositions and conduct, of the students: they assist at the spiritual exercises of the community, and generally conduct what is technically termed the 'Spiritual Retreat,' which takes place twice in the year; once, early in September, and again at the period of ordination. The Retreat lasts for five days, during the whole of which period, a silence, for the purpose of religious meditation, is observed by the students, and exhortations are given to them by one of the Deans, on the peculiar virtues becoming the clerical office. One of the Deans also usually accompanies the students in their public walks; and, in fact, they have the charge of the students, while not attending the lectures of their Professors. The Senior Dean receives £122 a-year: the Junior £112."—pp. 30-32.

"The students rise at five in the summer, and at six in the winter, months. They assemble in chapel for morning prayer, after which they pursue their studies till eight, at which hour they attend mass. They then breakfast; and are at liberty to amuse themselves until half past nine; from that time, they prosecute their studies until half past ten, when they assemble in the different lecture rooms, and attend the Professors for one hour; after which, half an hour is set apart for recreation. At twelve, study is resumed for two hours; from two till three, they attend their several lectures: they then dine, and are at liberty to amuse themselves until five. Their studies, either in private or in class, are then resumed, and are continued until eight, when another hour is set apart for recreation. At nine they assemble for the night prayer;

after which, they retire to their respective rooms, and are required to be in bed at ten o'clock. Wednesdays and Saturdays may be considered as half holidays.

"The students are required to maintain silence during the hours of study, of lecture, and of meals, and also from the time of night prayer, when they retire to their rooms, until after morning prayer of the ensuing day. The hours of recreation, rather less than four in each day, are those only in which they are at full liberty to speak, during five days of the week. On Wednesdays and Saturdays, and other occasional vacant days, the liberty of speaking is less restricted. During the 'Spiritual Retreat,' an unbroken silence is observed for five days. At these periods the time is generally spent in prayer, in spiritual reading, in exercises of piety, and in attending to spiritual instructions, which are given to the students in the chapel. A portion of the day is allowed for exercise, during which the students walk in solitary contemplation. A subject for meditation is given out on each day, and is explained generally by the conductor of the Retreat, on the day following. The subjects are such as relate to the duties of clergymen; piety and moral duties, the observance of order, and the preparation for administering the rites and sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church.

"In preserving, or enforcing discipline, the ordinary mode of proceeding is as follows:—Any student neglecting his duty, or habitually violating any of the rules of the College, is cited before the President, who privately admonishes him. If he is found to repeat the offence, he is in like manner admonished a second, and a third time; and if, after the third admonition, he is found not to amend his conduct, he is liable to be removed from the College. There are other considerations, however, influencing the minds of the students, particularly the fear of exclusion from orders, which operates more powerfully in maintaining discipline, than any punishment to which the superiors of the house resort." pp. 49-51.

Taking the report even of an enemy, we can see nothing in all this deserving of reprobation. On the contrary, we can scarcely imagine a course better calculated to form those habits of labour and self denial, which all must admit to be the portion of the Irish Priest; or to foster that spirit of virtue and piety, without which the clerical profession is a curse in the land. And yet this is the discipline of which the world has heard so much, and against which so many charges have been made. It has been represented as intolerably severe—calculated to debase and illiberalize the mind, by the unbroken, and monkish silence which it imposes; rendering the College, in truth, the very counterpart of Petrarch's

"Albergo di dolor, madre d'errori:—"

Its government too has been "denounced as arbitrary in the last degree," and "supported by a system of espionage," which has, in fact, made it "an inquisition in the heart of a free coun-

try." But in justice to the author before us, it must be acknowledged that he has little share in this representation. It has been made by others; yet as the public have heard the charge, we deem it right that they should be made acquainted with the refutation, which every one, who knows any thing of the College, could supply.

We should hardly, indeed, have imagined, that so tender an interest was taken in the comfort of the Catholic Clergy, or of the candidates for that much abused office. It is complained, that the system just detailed, the regulations for rising, study, confinement, &c. are unreasonably severe. And then the silence—the cold comfortless silence! Considerate souls! It is too much to require from those, whose portion for life will be to discharge all the functions of a most laborious ministry; to spend six, or eight, or ten hours in unbroken attendance to the duties of the confessional; to rise at every hour of the night, in every season of the year, and every state of the weather, and travel through the pelting storm, to tender the consolations of religion at the bed of disease and death; in one word, to tread one continued round of labour, the more irksome, perhaps, because silent and unostentatious—it is too much to require of such men, during their preparatory course, that, after eight hours of the refreshing sleep which a laborious student can always command, they shall rise, during the winter months at six, and the summer months at five, o'clock—that, for nine months in the year, on four days in each week (for "Wednesdays and Saturdays may be considered as half holidays") they shall devote to the studies of their profession, in summer eight hours, and in winter seven, so arranged and distributed that the confinement shall never exceed two continuous hours!

Some poppy-headed students, indeed, may consider this too much; but there is no man that ever laboured for eminence in any profession, who will not agree with us in pronouncing it a moderate, if not a luxurious, average of study. As to the silence, we think the propriety of observing it strictly, during the hours of study, devotion, and, above all, of sleep, so obvious, that we shall content ourselves with recommending the students of Maynooth College, to employ the "unquiet little member" usefully, during their four hours of daily recreation, their vacant days, their half holidays, and their vacations, confident that, at all the other periods, it will be, at least negatively, well employed, "working no evil."

The Collegiate government is represented as despotic.—The enforcement of discipline is committed to the President, Vice President and assisting superiors; but they are controlled by

what appears to us an admirable code of statutes; and every act is subject to the surveillance and reversal of higher powers.* On this subject, we will give our readers an opportunity of forming some idea of the temper which pervades all the charges, from the examination of one of the capital grounds of complaint, namely, that "the President has usurped the power of expelling a member of the College, by his own authority; whereas it is expressly provided by the Statute, that he should consult the council of professors, and superiors before he proceeds to the last extremity, *ita ut ne maximam pœnam ipse solus inferat.*"* There could not, perhaps, be a clearer instance of bad faith, than is displayed in this accusation; for the very sentence of the statute, from which the last clause is extracted, vests the disputed power in the person of the President.

"Fraudi maximæ obnoxios exauctorato; absque capitali fraude si quid vel criminis admissum erit, vel prætermissum officii, cui rei cognoscendæ, coercendæque, alium neminem præfecerimus, penes hunc culpæ æstimatio judicatioque remaneto; ita tamen ut ne maximam pœnam solus inferat." Cap. ii. s. iv.

Or as it occurs in the authorized translation given in the appendix, (p. 23.)

"Let him expel those guilty of offences, to which the penalty of expulsion is annexed by the statutes; should any crime be committed, or any neglect of duty occur, not enumerated among those offences which are punished by the statutes with expulsion, and for the cognizance and punishing of which we may have appointed no other person, be it his province to estimate and judge the offence, with this restriction, however, that he do not of himself alone inflict the highest penalty."

Hence, then, it is evident, that the power of the president to expel the refractory, instead of being usurped, as this writer would persuade us, is expressly recognized by the very statute to which he has appealed; and that the restricting clause, brought forward to support his accusation, is applicable solely to those doubtful cases, in which the penalty of expulsion has not been awarded by the statutes.—When men can thus venture to mutilate and pervert a public document, can we expect that they will be honest in statements of fact, where the terror of the "litera scripta" is wanting, to operate as a check on misrepresentation?

If it were necessary to argue farther, there is one plain and striking fact, which may set the question completely at rest. No one can be supposed so well acquainted with the character of the College and its superiors, as the Catholic Clergy

* Maynooth in 1834, p. 25.

of Ireland, who have been educated within its walls, and witnessed, for years, all the workings of its Government. It is well known that the power of a Bishop over his Clergy is very extensive, and altogether of a character, which no man, particularly when he himself comes under its jurisdiction, would place in the hands of one, whom he knew to be a tyrant at heart, to have been nurtured in the most despotic principles, or to have given already unequivocal proofs of a tyrannical disposition. If we look round among the Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland, chosen by the very Clergy, who, if there be any truth in these representations, must be aware of this despotic and tyrannical tendency, we shall find, that no less than *twenty*, out of the *twenty-seven*, *Bishops* have been, at different periods, members of the College, and that more than one third of the whole, *including the four Archbishops*, have actually *held official situations* in "this prison-house of more than inquisitorial cruelty." Will any man of common sense, with such a fact before his eyes, believe that the picture sketched by the adversaries of Maynooth, is correct? As soon might he believe that the emancipated slaves would choose their monarchs from the most heartless and oppressive of their taskmasters.

Last of all, comes the most odious, and, certainly, the most malignant, charge of all. The College of Maynooth is "denounced as not only conniving at, but encouraging, the infamous trade of the spy and the informer, and selecting by preference, from among those who have sustained such a character, the most persevering and unprincipled, as the worthiest members of the Priesthood."* Is it necessary for us to say, that this is false,—absolutely and entirely false? Need we point it out as another link in the chain of falsehood, which the Monks, and the Reeds, and the Grays, with their patrons and abettors, reverend, and unreverend, have laboured so long, and so assiduously in forging? We think not: its very clumsiness establishes the affinity. The calumny seems to be founded either on a misrepresentation of one of the internal arrangements, common to Maynooth with almost every extensive literary establishment,—the appointment of monitors, or prefects, to preside over a certain portion of the duties,—or on a misstatement of the power of the President in enquiring into any gross violation of discipline. The monitors "are selected from among the senior students, on the ground of superior virtue and proficiency in learning"†—and contribute to the preservation of order, rather by their presence and example, than by the slight authority which one student can be supposed to possess over another.‡ By the turbulent and discontented, it is

* Ibid, p. 19.

† Statut. Collegii, c. 4. sec. 7.

‡ Append. 133.

not extraordinary, that this class should be maligned: the public, however, will see in it but little ground for the odious charge which has been founded upon it. In a large establishment, where, for a variety of reasons, the studies, during a great part of the year, are conducted in the public halls, it is obvious, that there must be some means adopted for the preservation of that order, which is essential to their success. The constant superintendence of the deans is clearly impossible; and the office of monitors or prefects is intended simply to meet the deficiency thus created—their duties are confined to the public halls, and they possess neither authority nor commission elsewhere. This is not a mere assertion: it is expressly stated in the evidence before the Commissioners. In answer to the question, “on what occasions, and in what manner, do they assist in enforcing the discipline?” it is distinctly stated, (p. 130) “They return to the deans the names of the persons absent from morning and night prayer. When the students assemble, in the winter season, in the halls, two of them are appointed to *preserve order in the hall*; and in the class of theology, there are persons appointed by the professor also to return to the professors the names of those that do not attend.” And when the question was farther urged, “whether they did not exercise *considerable superintendence*?” the answer was, “*not farther than I have stated*: they return to the dean the names of persons absent from prayer in the morning; and, at night, if they found any one absent from the study, during the winter season, they would return their names.”—In like manner, the power which the president possesses, is as reasonable as it is necessary. The civil magistrate can compel a witness to disclose, upon oath, the crime of his fellow citizen—the Church of England, in the publication of the banns, directs her minister to proclaim the solemn obligation of declaring any “cause or just impediment, why the parties should not be joined in holy matrimony”—and our Redeemer has given the same precept in the remarkable words of the 18th chapter of St. Matthew: “If he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand; and if he will not hear them, tell the Church.” Founded upon the same principle, and analogous to the authority of the Civil Magistrate, in examining any violation of the civil law, a power is vested in the President, of summoning before him any member of the “*Familia Academica*,” and requiring evidence on any matter, which he deems of sufficient importance to warrant so summary a proceeding. It is in accordance with the spirit of the Roman ceremonial, and the practice, observed from the earliest times, of examining rigorously into the character of the candidates for holy orders. The ab-

surdity of the charge, into which these facts have been distorted, will appear from the same plain, common-sense argument, which we have already used, and which applies, with even more force, to this case. Will any man believe, that the Clergy of Ireland, educated at Maynooth, and therefore fully cognizant of the machinery by which its government is directed, would place over themselves a superior, invested with almost absolute authority, whom they knew to have been long initiated in all the mysteries of this odious and degraded system of espionage? That they would knowingly and unanimously choose, not in one instance, but in twenty, a man from whose prying eye, unrestrained "by any principle of honour or courtesy," they could not hope to cover their most secret conversation, and scarcely calculate on security, even in the privacy of their homes, or under the sacred guard of confidential communication? It is too absurd, to impose even upon the most undistinguishing credulity.

We have often been surprised at the total forgetfulness of principle, which characterises many of the charges against Catholics and Catholic institutions. Who would believe that the very principle, which is here made the subject of so gross a charge against Maynooth College, was recognised and applied in the public acts of the English and Scottish churches. In the liturgy of the Church of England, in the ceremony of the "ordering of deacons," after the archdeacon, in reply to the charge of the bishop, that he "take heed that the candidates whom he presents be apt and meet for learning and godly conversation," has declared, "that he has *enquired* of them and examined them, and thinks them so to be," the bishop proclaims aloud to those present, "Brethren, if there be any of you who knoweth any impediment, or notable crime in any of these persons presented to be ordered as deacons, for the which he should not be admitted to that office, let him come forth in the name of the Lord, and *show what the crime or impediment is*." In the ordering of the priests, a similar passage occurs: and in the "form of Presbyterian church government agreed upon by the divines at Westminster," it is ruled that the presbytery is to "*enquire* touching the grace of God in him, (the candidate for the ministry) whether he be of such holiness of life as is requisite for a minister of the gospel."* Nor is this power of enquiring confined to the candidates for the ministry: it is extended to each and every member of the Presbyterian body. "The ruling officers of a particular congregation have power *authoritatively to call before them* any member of the congregation as they shall see

* Page 588, Edinburgh edition, 1781.

just occasion, to *enquire* into the knowledge and *spiritual estate* of the several members of the congregation.*

The system of education pursued at Maynooth has been most virulently attacked. In entering upon this subject, we would submit, that nothing can be more absurd than to set up the same standard of education for all young men, no matter what the profession to which they are destined. If the object of education be to prepare men for the due performance of the part in life which they have chosen for themselves, and, as the word implies, to *develope* their faculties in reference to that object, it is clear that both its manner and its matter should vary with the calling of the individual student. Nothing could be more mistaken, than to bestow the same instruction on the several students of medicine, of law, and of divinity,—to form by the same rules, and the cultivation of the same sciences, the youth, whose manhood is to be spent in the enjoyment of literary ease, or the pursuit of abstract but profane knowledge, and him, whose life is destined to active and laborious employment among the poor and uninstructed—to the exposition of the simple truths of religion, and the equally simple doctrines of morality. The preparatory studies, as far as they tend to the improvement of the mind, and the general development of its powers, may be the same for all: but a *professional* education, at least, should take its tone from the profession to which it is devoted. The notion, that learning consists in an acquaintance with classical authors, or a familiarity with abstruse sciences, has long since been exploded. As long as the modern languages of Europe remained without cultivation, and the literature of Greece and Rome was the principal repository of liberal knowledge, the opinion was just and well founded. The ignorant admiration, however, of those who had no claim to the character of learning, or the flattered pride of those who had, contributed to give it currency, even after the reason, which justified it, had ceased to exist. But, examined without prejudice, nothing can appear more ridiculous. The true and useful learning of the physician, is the science of pathology and medicine—of the lawyer, the theory and practice of law—of the clergyman, the moral duties and speculative doctrines of Christianity. Give us, in an ecclesiastical education, a solid and accurate acquaintance with the truths of religion, and the substantial knowledge necessary to communicate them with advantage. We care little for the rest—we look upon it only as preparatory, or at least subsidiary, to the main design. Classical and scientific studies are not here an *end*;—indeed they should

* Page 576.

not be so in any profession,—they are but a part of the means, to that which is of real importance. Hence, although they should not be altogether neglected, it is neither necessary nor expedient, that they should be cultivated to the same extent as in a course of education, the object of which is purely literary. This care should be thrown principally upon those who have charge of the preparatory studies; so that, even if the classical studies of Maynooth were as low as its enemies would represent them, this circumstance should be attributed, not to the institution itself, but to the defective state of the public schools in the remote parts of the country, and to the difficulty, which young men of the less opulent classes experience, in procuring a liberal or refined preparatory education. For the wants of the poor a provision has been made—the rich can have recourse to the higher and more expensive schools; but the intermediate classes, debarred from the one by want of means, and from the other by a natural feeling of honest independence, are comparatively in a worse state than either.

The following general view of the classes is extracted from the account (evidently not written in a favourable spirit,) which we find in the 32d and following pages of the pamphlet before us.

“The full course of education at Maynooth occupies ten years. The studies of the first year, that is of the lowest class, are the *literæ humaniores*. According to a regulation of the trustees, no student is to be admitted into this class who is not found capable of answering in the Latin and Greek authors set down in the following entrance course:—

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|--------|---|
| | { Cæsar's Commentaries, 1st and 2d books De Bello Gallico. |
| | { Sallust. |
| LATIN. | { Virgil's Eclogues, and 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th books of the <i>Æneid</i> . |
| | { Horace's Epistles. |
| | { Cicero's four Orations against Cataline. |
| | { Greek Grammar. |
| | { Gospel of St. John. |
| GREEK. | { Lucian's Dialogues,—1st book of Murphy's or Walker's. |
| | { Xenophon's <i>Cyropædia</i> ; 1st, 2d, and 3d books. |

“For admission into rhetoric they are required to answer in

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|--------|--|
| | { Cicero's Orations on the Manilian Law, for Archias, Milo, Marcellus, and Ligarius. |
| LATIN. | { Livy, 1st, 2d, and 3d books. |
| | { Horace's Odes and Satires. |
| | { Virgil, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th books of the <i>Æneid</i> . |
| | { Juvenal, 1st, 3d, 4th, and 10th Satires. |
| | { Enchiridion of Epictetus. |
| GREEK. | { Xenophon's <i>Anabasis</i> , 1st and 2d books. |
| | { Homer's <i>Iliad</i> , 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th books. |

“For admission into the class of logic, they are required to answer in the following, besides the authors in the two foregoing lists.

LATIN.	{	Tacitus, 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th books of the Annals.
		Livy, 4th and 5th Books.
		Cicero's Offices.
		Virgil's Georgics, and four last books of the Æneid.
		Horace's Art of Poetry.
GREEK.	{	Homer's Iliad, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th books.
		Demosthenes' four Philippics, and De Corona.
		Longinus De Sublimi.

This appears to us a very fair, if not a very liberal course. "The students are lectured twice every day, except Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday, in Latin at morning lecture, and Greek in the afternoon." The business of the classes is not confined to the authors set down in this list; "they are exercised in the composition of Greek and Latin both in prose and verse."

"The students of the humanity and rhetoric classes attend a lecture in the evening, from five to six, by the professor of English elocution, and are practised in English composition. They also receive instruction in the catechism, called "Christian Doctrine," and in the Old Testament, on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The professor of the rhetoric class, after Christmas, generally about the month of February or March, explains to them, either from English works, which he chooses for the purpose, such as Blair's Rhetoric, or from dictates compiled by himself, the principles of rhetoric, and obliges them to compose in Latin and English. He gives them also instruction in elocution and delivery."—pp. 33, 34, 35.

In all the classes the same system is pursued, of stimulating the industry of the student, by requiring that, besides attending to the exposition of the professor, he shall also give an account of his private study. It is clear, however, that, following the above plan, as the public lectures occupy only nine hours in each week, it will not be possible to read *publicly* a very large number of classical authors. It is not true, however, that the actual studies "fall far short of the printed lists." Almost all the Greek is read, and sometimes more than is marked in the card, and by far the larger proportion of the Latin authors. But even though it were otherwise, we should not attach to it the very undue importance which some persons seem to think it deserves. In the education of clergymen, we should think that a knowledge of the languages, such as would enable them to pursue their private studies with advantage, should be the first object. If it be possible to combine an extensive course of classics with what those, who are best acquainted with their duties, deem the most important studies, we would gladly see it done; but if not, we have no doubt that the quantity of reading is of infinitely less importance than the manner, and we would prefer, on principle, that a young man should read, under the eye of his professor, the one

half of the authors marked down in the course, than that he should prepare the whole for an examination, without any systematic or compulsory superintendence.

"A student, at his entrance into the college, is placed, according to his proficiency, in one or other of these three classes; so that, if he be capable of answering in the books required for the class of logic, he is admitted into it at once, and his course is thereby reduced to five years instead of seven. The text book used in this class is a portion of the Lyons' Philosophy, which was reprinted for the use of the college, and some changes made in it by Dr. Anglade, who was, for some time, professor of logic, metaphysics, and ethics, at Maynooth. For each lecture, a certain portion of the text book is appointed; the professor explains any thing in it that may be obscure to the students, and they, at the following lecture, with their books closed, give an account, from memory and their intermediate study, of that portion which the professor prescribed for the matter of the lecture. The professor and students speak Latin in this class. When the students are somewhat advanced in the logic course, there is, on one day in the week, an exercise in scholastic disputation. With respect to ethics, the want of time prevents the entire course being gone through within the year."—p. 36.

This omission, however, we should suppose, cannot be of much moment, as the same course is treated much more comprehensively, in the moral theology, which all read two years afterwards.

"After a year passed in the class of logic, metaphysics, and ethics, the students are transferred to that of mathematics and natural philosophy. The text books used in this class are a Compendium of Geometry by the Abbé Darré, and the treatises by Vince and Wood, (of Cambridge) in three volumes, 8vo, which, the president informed the commissioners, the students read as far as they can."—p. 37.

The close of this extract proves that we were right in designating our author's promise "to draw information from the most authentic documents" as a *mere profession*—a show of impartiality, under which, to cover an insidious attack, rather than a sincere pledge to lay before the reader a fair and unbiassed summary of their contents. With the examinations of other witnesses he has dealt very unfairly.—unwillingly acknowledging what was meritorious, and ostentatiously parading whatever he considered likely to inflict an injury on the college. But here he has gone even farther: he has misrepresented and garbled the evidence—"Which the president informed the commissioners, the students read as far as they can!" The president states most distinctly, that "the course of pure mathematics consists of arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, both plain and spherical, and conic sections;" that "such of the students as had a peculiar turn for this study, were occasionally instructed in fluxions," that "all

read conic sections, and all, spherical trigonometry," and, in answer to the direct question, "how far in algebra the whole class proceeded," that "they read to the end of quadratic, and sometimes cubic, equations." He adds, moreover, that "they spend the remainder of the year at natural philosophy; though, in the short time, it was impossible to go through all its branches;" that "they read the laws of motion, mechanics, astronomy always, and generally either hydrostatics or optics;"* that "they are obliged to demonstrate every proposition they go through," and that "many persons, who, at the final examination, have witnessed the progress they have made, have been surprised at the astonishing proofs, given by one-third, and often one-half, of their industry and talent for those studies." With all this definite information before him, directly under his eye, in the very page (74) from which he has quoted, the author contents himself with citing from the president's reply to the distinct question, "what book of *astronomy* they read," the words which have been given above, undefined in appearance, but determined, by their position, not to the treatises generally, for he had already given a specific answer for the greater part of them, but to the treatise of astronomy, which the question regarded, or, at most, of hydrostatics and optics, of which he spoke in the preceding answer. And yet, because, forsooth, the words occur *somewhere* in the president's evidence, "he has drawn his information from the most authentic sources." But there is a further instance of the same "impartial" spirit, the same anxiety to procure "satisfactory information." He had before him the examination, not only of the president, but also of fourteen or fifteen others—all men of long standing in the college—all well acquainted with the extent and arrangement of the studies in the several classes. Yet, all these he passes by, and chooses, as a test of the studies in the philosophy class, the evidence of a young man, who, as he himself explained, was appointed professor not a month before; who, for some years, had been upon the continent, utterly unconnected with the college; who knew nothing of the class, save from his impressions as student seven years previous—who had as yet conducted the

* The students also receive lectures in electricity, galvanism, and, for the two last years, in electro-magnetism. The galvanic and electro-magnetic instruments are decidedly the finest we ever have seen. The galvanic apparatus, constructed on a new plan by the professor, the Rev. Doctor Callan, combines, in twenty pairs of large plates, all the advantages both of number, and extent of surface; and by the application of the electro-magnet, by means of a very ingenious instrument which he himself constructed, exhibits with a few plates all the effects in decomposition, the fusion of metals, the shock, &c., which in the ordinary batteries would require several hundred pairs of plates. There is no observatory attached to the college: indeed, considering the narrowness of the collegiate revenues, it could not be expected.

class through a very small portion of the course, and whose conscientious fears, as every line of his evidence evinces, would not suffer him to state any thing positively which he had not witnessed with his own eyes. With regard to the extent of the lectures on algebra, which he had already commenced, his testimony is definitive enough. They comprise the four leading rules of algebra, as also involution, evolution, the use of the binomial theorem, the solution of simple and quadratic equations and problems, the principles of proportions, variations, and progressions, and the nature and use of logarithms. But beyond this all is hesitation; because, beyond this his personal knowledge as a professor extended not; and without that positive and personal knowledge, his scrupulous timidity would not suffer him to pronounce a decision. This part of the evidence, however, our "impartial" author has suppressed altogether. He turns to the lectures on astronomy, the very last in the course, which, the witness stated, "he had not taught as yet, nor would he till the close of the year;" and even this he takes care to misrepresent. He tells us, that "the professor, in reply to a question from the commissioners, stated, that he should think very few would be able to explain the principles on which an eclipse is calculated, because they are not fully explained to them; the year is at a close, at the time they are reading that part of astronomy, and therefore the professor *has not time* to explain those principles fully." But, in the same breath, almost in the same sentence, the professor adds, "I find that some of the principles for calculating an eclipse *have been explained* to the class." This, however, our impartial author omits. It forms no part of that "satisfactory" evidence of which he is so much enamoured,—an evidence, namely, that forwards his own views, and panders to his own prejudices.

There is an air of more than usual triumph in the tone, in which he advances the oft-repeated charge, that "the professor of mathematics had never read Euclid." It is a charge which has been, and perhaps naturally, very much over-rated. With the ignorant, who consider a knowledge of mathematics, and an acquaintance with Euclid, as synonymous, it makes, no doubt, an imposing appearance; but no man, who knows any thing of the matter, will argue, with the author before us, that because a person "has not read the sixth book of Euclid," he cannot be "a proficient in the abstruse department of pure mathematics." In these countries Euclid has been generally adopted as a school-book; and those, who are acquainted with no other, may hastily conclude that a knowledge of his elements is indispensable. In France, however, it is exactly the reverse. The use of the elements has

been generally discontinued; and the most distinguished scholars at home coincide in this view. "We should form a wrong estimate," says Leslie,* "did we consider the elements of Euclid, with all its merits, as a finished production. That admirable work was composed when geometry was making its most rapid advances, and new prospects were opening on every side. No wonder that its structure should now appear loose and defective." "Whatever may be said to the contrary," says the writer of the article *Euclid* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "it is certain that they (the Elements of Euclid) are deficient in that order, which, causing the propositions as far as possible to arise out of one another, exhibits in full evidence the analogies which connect them, assists the memory, and prepares the mind for the investigation of truth;"† and the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* is "disposed to regard more modern treatises of geometry as possessing advantages unknown to Euclid; conducting the learner with greater facility to the ulterior and more important objects of inquiry."‡ The short, but comprehensive course of mathematics taught at Maynooth, where these are the principal objects proposed in the study, follows the more concise and continuous method adopted by the Spanish mathematician, Merito Bails, in this country, by Hutton and Leslie, and in France, by almost all the modern geometricians—by Le Caille, Lacroix, Saury, Bezout, Rivard, Mazeas, and, with more success than any other, by Le Gendre. Educated at Maynooth, it was most natural that the studies of the young professor, who, be it remembered, had not yet commenced his lectures on geometry—should, in the first instance, be directed to the treatises, which, in order and arrangement, approached most closely to his own. All these circumstances, however, are studiously kept out of view, for the purpose of adding importance, in the eyes of the ignorant, to a charge against the professor, which is utterly at variance, not only with his well-known character, but also with that of several publications which we have seen with his name, both upon these subjects and upon those of electricity and galvanism.

"After four years passed in the classes described above, the students are transferred to the class of divinity, the most important in the course of education.

"In the class of divinity the students remain for three years, which completes the full course of instruction given in the college. There are three professors of divinity, and nine hours in the week are occupied in their lectures. The text books consist of ten volumes; five of dog-

* Preface, page iv.

† *Encyclop. Brit.*, Art *Euclid*. New edition, part 50, page 391.

‡ Vol. ix, p. 222.

matic theology, compiled by Dr. Delahogue,* who had been for many years a professor at Maynooth, and five of moral theology, written by Bailly, a French divine, and professor of theology at Dijon."

Of the theological course there are two principal divisions—speculative and moral. In the first are discussed all the doctrinal questions controverted between Catholics and their opponents of every class, whether infidel or sectarian; the nature and history of the dispute is explained, the arguments for the Catholic opinion stated, and the objections methodically detailed and refuted. The second treats of the principles of action, conscience, the nature and obligation of laws, the decalogue, the nature and efficacy of the sacraments, and the dispositions with which they may be received with advantage, &c. This course is the longest, as well as the most important of the whole; and, as no portion of the collegiate studies has been so violently attacked, it would be strange if our pamphleteer did not, at last, fling off his disguise, and join in the ignorant outcry. He does not, indeed, go so far as to style it, with some of his contemporaries, a system of "*savage heathenism*;" nor does he seek, with others, to fix upon the college the opinions of the celebrated Dens, whose theology, so far from being taught or recommended, was formally rejected, when proposed as a class-book, many years since. But the moderation, which he usually affects, deserts him here, and he consequently manifests more of bigotry, and, we must add, less of good faith, than in any other portion of his pages.

A necessary appendage of the practice of confession, and one which must stand or fall by the same arguments, is the obligation by which every clergyman, who undertakes the duty, is bound to learn something of the mysteries of the human heart, that he may know the maladies to which it is subject, their causes, symptoms, preventives, and remedies. It is too late for the surgeon or physician, when a case occurs in which decision is of the last importance, to sit down and examine its nature, and the proper treatment to be applied. He must have laid up beforehand the knowledge necessary for every case which may present itself; and no one will say, that he should be deterred from this indispensable preparation, by the nature of the subjects to which his attention must occasionally be directed. On the same principle, a small portion of the treatises of theology—but a few pages, out of ten volumes which contain four or five thousand—is devoted to certain explanations, which may become necessary in the discharge of the ordinary duties of the clergyman. It

* These treatises have been reprinted in France, as also at Frankfort, for the use of seminaries. (App. p. 76.) They are in very general use in all the Catholic colleges in America.

is scarcely possible to devise a system of discipline, better calculated, not merely to place a temporary restraint upon the passions, but to form permanent habits of solid virtue, than that which is pursued at Maynooth, even as it is represented by this writer.* The purifying seclusion of collegiate life, the absence of every object which could lead to evil, and the presence of all that can fill the heart with the love of good; the recollection, which all the duties conspire to keep alive, of the obligations attached to the sacred ministry; the stated periods of self-examination, and the practice of the best of all devotions—the devotion of the heart,—all these tend, of their own nature, to produce impressions which can never be effaced—which must constitute, at once the happiness, and the security of the clergyman—relieving the irksomeness of his own labours, and diffusing the blessings of Heaven within the sphere of his ministry. The very character, therefore, and obligations of the student, the sacred sense of duty from which alone it is pursued, and the veil which is thrown over the subject by the unknown language in which it is discussed, are a sufficient security against any danger, which might otherwise be apprehended, from a study, whose sole object here is the preservation of virtue. It is clear that its character is essentially altered, when the details are presented through the medium of a gross and revolting translation, or accompanied by a disgusting commentary. But it should be remembered, that many passages of the Old Testament, and, in particular, the books of Deuteronomy and Leviticus, which the Protestant practice places, without any disguise of language, in the hands of all, without distinction of age or character, are susceptible of, and *have actually suffered*, similar perversion at the hands of the infidel and the blasphemer. We will not trust ourselves to speak of the wretches, who have tasked their bad ingenuity, in order to present these things to the public in their most offensive form; for we are ashamed to apply to them the language which their infamous labours but too well justify. But is it not astonishing that such men should pretend to the character of guardians of morality? Nay, that they should have found persons simple enough not to see through the shallowness of their professions?

The surest test of principle is experience. If the doctrines inculcated at Maynooth, and adopted by the Irish Catholic clergy, be really what interested slanderers would represent them; if they be in any way subversive of the principles of justice or morality, how, we would ask, does it happen, that, in

* Pages 49, 50.

these very virtues, the morality of the Irish Catholics, as their worst enemies admit, is of so exalted an order? How does it happen, that among the instances of injustice, which must occur in every community, we find examples of restitution, through the hands of this very clergy, so frequent and so considerable? not confined by any of the rules which this silly writer misunderstands, or misrepresents, but embracing alike pence, and shillings, and pounds, and hundreds of pounds? Can the pretended immoral tendency of the Maynooth theology be borne out by a comparison of Irish female virtue, with that of Protestant England, where "those principles are not sanctioned?" We will not sully our pages by pointing to examples of profligacy in every class, from the pauper to the peer. We will not enumerate, for we cannot, the instances, or the causes, of divorce and separation. But we turn, with pride and thanksgiving, to the untarnished virtue of our own despised country—untarnished in private, as in public life—sacred from the calumnies of the worst slanderers of Catholic Ireland. When has the Catholic wife followed a married seducer from the side of her husband, and that Catholic husband manifested his delicate sense of the injury, by—*marrying the wife of the unprincipled destroyer of his honour*? Thank Heaven "such things are not even named" among us—thank Heaven, we can appeal, as the best defence of the principle and practice of confession, to the fact, with which all—Protestants and Catholics—are acquainted, and of which every circle of Catholic society will furnish examples, that among Catholic females, proverbially virtuous as they are, that female is the most virtuous, the most modest, and the most edifying, who approaches most frequently to the sacred tribunal of confession. This is not a character of our own making; it is acknowledged by all; it strikes every one, the stranger, no less than the native, the Protestant alike with the Catholic. From a crowd of testimonies within our reach, we select one from the well known observations on *Ireland and its Economy*, by J. E. Bicheno, Esq., written at a period when, if ever, these principles must have produced their full effect upon the morals of the people. The writer is a Protestant, and *thinks it necessary to offer an apology* "if he has spoken in an excusatory tone of the Catholics."

"The Catholic population of Ireland owe a debt of gratitude to their pastors, which time can never efface. The *inviolability of the marriage vow*, the *chastity of their females*, the affection between children and parents, the charity of the poor to the still poorer, and generally the fulfilment of the social duties, *are virtues for which the Irish are conspicuously eminent*; and I will not stay to calculate how much they have been the result of a peculiar economy, and how much we must abate from the

power of religion. *There can be no doubt, that, without the wholesome controul of the Church, these virtues would have shrunk into a diminutive compass, while the vices, to which the people are addicted, would have swollen to a fearful magnitude; and if the priests had been deprived of their influence, as some persons would advise, WOULD HAVE UTTERLY LAID WASTE THE COUNTRY.**

But it is time to give a specimen of the spirit in which these charges are put forward.

"In Dr. Delahogue's treatise on *The Church*, the second proposition, p. 17, is in these words: 'schismatics, even though they err not in doctrine, by the mere fact of their schism, are excluded from the Church, and are out of the pale of salvation.'† By a variety of arguments Dr. Delahogue endeavours to establish this position, and to show that, whatever may be said to the contrary, the schismatic, although he may not err in doctrine, is not a member of that one Church 'out of which' (Catholics) believe that 'no salvation can be hoped for.' He then proceeds to lay down his third proposition, p. 41, 'the society of Protestants cannot clear itself from the guilt of schism,' *thereby excluding every individual Protestant from all hope of salvation; FOR a society, as distinguished from the persons composing it, is not capable of being excluded from the hope of eternal salvation.* One might have thought that there was bigotry enough in condemning all, who are not in communion with the Roman Catholic Church, to perdition in a future state, but to this is added intolerance with respect to the present life. 'The Church,' asserts the Maynooth professor, 'retains her jurisdiction over all apostates, heretics, and schismatics, although they no longer appertain to her body, just as a military officer has a right of decreeing *severer punishments* against a soldier who deserts, even though his name may have been erased from the military roll.'"

The reader will smile at the silliness of the logic which is here put forward with so much confidence and ostentation. We will not, however, undertake to define what his feelings will be, when he has learned, that, of the two passages or propositions, which our "moderate" and "impartial" author has quoted with such a flourish, one *actually contains*, and the other *expressly refers to*, an explanation of the nature of heresy, which he did not think "satisfactory" enough to be laid before his readers, because it completely destroys the precious argument which he was constructing.‡ In pages 39 and 40, while explaining this *identical second proposition*, Dr. Delahogue writes,—

* Pages 193, 194.

† Did this writer ever read the 18th of the Articles of the Church of England? If so, why put these words in italics?

‡ The writer proceeds:—"One is naturally anxious to learn, what are those 'severer punishments' to which we are exposed. The commissioners inquired into their nature from Dr. Slevin, who was prefect of the Dunboyne establishment. He assured them that they were merely spiritual censures. But, after having already ex-

"It is a very different thing to say, that 'out of the true Church there is no hope of salvation,' and, that 'all will be damned who, during life were not of the *visible body* (de corpore) of the Church;' for all theologians enumerate *very many persons*, who, although attached externally to heretical or schismatical societies, belong to the soul of the true Church, who adhere to the heresy or schism, from invincible ignorance of its nature, and consequently will be saved, unless other actual transgressions, unremitted by contrition or the sacraments, interfere to prevent it. And even with regard to those, who have actually died in the profession of heresy or schism, and for whose attachment to it during life we can discover no excuse, as no one on earth can pronounce on their dispositions, so none can say that they are of the number of the reprobate. Their fate must be left to the judgment of God."

And yet we are gravely told that Dr. Delahogue "excludes every individual Protestant from salvation!" To make the total want of faith still more apparent, we need only direct attention to the words which *immediately precede* the second quotation, p. 404. "Public heretics or schismatics, though they be not of the body (or external society) of the Church, may, if they labour under invincible ignorance, belong to its soul (or the society of those who, in the sight of God, are true believers). *Vide supra*, p. 40"—the very passage quoted above! "Oh! ye sons of men! how long will ye be dull of heart? how long will ye love vanity and seek after lies?" Will the Protestants of these countries never open their eyes to the designs of men, whose trade is deceit, and who, subsisting on their prejudices, stop at no means of keeping them alive, if it be but for a moment?

The late declaimers against Popish intolerance have been repeatedly taxed with inconsistency, in making a charge to which their own principles were exposed. We cannot refrain from opening, as we pass, some of the documents whose authority every churchman must acknowledge, and placing by the side of "the intolerant class-books of Maynooth," which this author makes (p. 84) a ground for the suspension of the parliamentary grant, a few specimens of the "blessed toleration" of that Church, to the support of which so many hundred thousands of the public money are annually applied. To some the task may appear gratuitous. It may seem idle to search in books, for the cha-

communicated schismatics, one remains at a loss to discover any severer spiritual censure that the Church can devise." If he had not suppressed the very next answer, neither he, nor his reader, could have the smallest difficulty in discovering it. "All those who culpably separate from the Church incur that censure; after their separation they are considered to sin as often as they knowingly and wilfully violate the laws, and to incur any spiritual penalty annexed to their transgressions." In this short passage, therefore, there are no less than three tangible misrepresentations of the class-books.

racter which is written in letters of blood upon every page of her history,—in the furious and unrelenting persecutions of the Catholics, and the more anomalous, if less persevering, oppression of the Protestant dissenters. With the former every reader is familiar: the latter is indignantly proclaimed by the able and consistent author of the well-known "*Dissent from the Church of England.*"

"Have you never read, with a bleeding heart, the unrelenting rigours of your archbishops Parker, Bancroft, Whitgift, Laud, under the first of whom above a hundred, under the second above three hundred, pious and learned men, not only members but ministers of your Church, were silenced, suspended, admonished, deprived, many of them loaded with grievous and heavy fines, and shut up in filthy gaols, where they slowly expired through penury and want? . . . Have you never read, sir, what desolation Laud brought upon your fathers, whilst yet in your Church? How many hundreds of them were sequestered, driven from their livings, excommunicated, persecuted in the High Commission Court, and forced to leave the kingdom for not punctually conforming to all the ceremonies and rites? . . . In consequence of these unrighteous acts, were not vast numbers of pious clergymen, our forefathers, once the glory of your Church, with multitudes of their people, laid in prisons amongst thieves and common malefactors, where they suffered the greatest hardships, indignities, and oppressions? their houses were cruelly rifled, their goods made a prey to hungry informers, and their families given up to beggary and want. An estimate was published of *near eight thousand* Protestant dissenters who had perished in prison, in the reign only of Charles II. By severe penalties, inflicted on them for assembling to worship God, they suffered in their trade and estates, in the compass of a few years, to the amount of at least two millions; and a list of sixty thousand persons was taken, who had suffered, on a religious account, betwixt the Restoration and the Revolution.*

This is truly an appalling picture of intolerance, and of the most cruel and anomalous of all—Protestant intolerance. "Out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing"—the same principle proclaims the freedom of conscience, and rewards its exercise with—death. And yet, difficult as it may be to reconcile the fact with the late outcry against the intolerant principles of Catholicity, it is but too faithful a copy of the spirit which breathes through all the constitutions of the Church of England—in her book of Homilies, in her Liturgy of the gunpowder treason, and of King Charles the Martyr, in her canons ecclesiastical, in her acts of convocation, and, more than all, in the barbarous penal code, which her prelates were the first to

* Pages 85, 86, 87, Second Letter.

sanction, and the last to repeal. The nerves of our sensitive pamphleteer quake with apprehension of the time when the spirit of Catholicity in Ireland shall be supported by the arm of the civil authorities. What would he say if the "Maynooth professor" proclaimed to his pupils, that it was not only the right, but actually the duty, of the Godly magistrate, to enter the conventicle of Protestantism, to tear down the reading desk and pulpit, to overturn the Communion table, deface and dismantle the entire building? And what *will* he say, when he finds that the homilies,* of which every clergyman, when he subscribes to the 35th article, declares, that they "*contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for those times,*" actually assign to the righteous magistrate the duty, as they attribute to him the power, of tearing down the images in the Catholic churches, defacing the paintings and statues of our Redeemer and his apostles, and controlling, by the sword of the flesh, the free exercise of the first principle of Protestantism? When he finds that the same, or a similar authority and obligation, are attributed to the churchwardens, by the 97th canon ecclesiastical? When he finds—far from this code remaining a dead letter—a Godly archbishop taking the place of the Godly Magistrate,† "quitting his province, the public service of the Church, on a solemn festival, heading a file of musketeers, leading them on furiously to demolish a chapel, apprehend a few priests, and terrify a number of harmless people in the midst of their devotions;" looking on and encouraging the literal fulfilment of the precept enforced in the homily—while the soldiers‡ "seized the priest in his vestments at the altar took away the crucifixes and paraments of the altar, hewed down the image of St. Francis, and delivered the priests and friars into the hands of the pursuivants.§" This is toleration with a witness! But this is a subject which might easily make us forget the narrowness of our limits. We shall submit, therefore, without any commentary, a few passages, which display but too clearly the spirit of the Church of England.

By the act of uniformity it is enacted, among other penalties, that "if any shall declare, or speak any thing in derogation, or depraving, of the book of Common Prayer, or any thing therein contained, or any part thereof, he shall, for the first offence, suffer imprisonment for one whole year, without bail or main-prize; and for the second, imprisonment during life."

* Pages 197 and 270. London, 1825. "Homily against Peril of Idolatry."

† See "Narrative of Hammon L'Estrange," quoted by Currie, vol. i. p. 115, and by Taaffe, vol. ii. p. 319.

‡ Plowden, vol. i. p. 116. § Taaffe, vol. ii. p. 319.

The third canon, in reference to the same book of Common Prayer, enacts,—“ If any person shall preach, or by other open words declare, or speak, anything in the derogation, or despising of the said book, or any thing therein contained, *let him be excommunicated*, and not restored, until he repent, and publicly revoke his error.” The fourth, by a similar denunciation, cuts short all freedom of *private judgment*, with regard to the “ book of the ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons;” and the fifth, with one sweeping sentence, consistent, because undistinguishing, suffers not one, *who is not a member of the Church of England*, to breathe within the realm, *without incurring all the penalties implied* in the sentence of excommunication*,—privation of the society of Christians, *utter civil disability*, and even liability, on the representation of the bishop, to *imprisonment in the common jail*, until the error shall have been publicly retracted. “ If any shall affirm, or maintain, that there are, within this realm, *other meetings, assemblies, and congregations, than such as, by the laws of this land, are held and allowed*, which may challenge to themselves *the name of TRUE AND LAWFUL CHURCHES*, LET HIM BE EXCOMMUNICATED, and not restored until he repent, and publicly revoke his error.” And yet, severe as are the penalties here annexed to the *crime* of non-conformity, they are trifling in comparison of those attached to the profession of the Catholic Priest. Lord Mansfield upon the Bench declared, that, by the law of the realm, IT WAS TREASON FOR A PRIEST TO BREATHE WITHIN THE LAND.

After a display of intolerance so unequivocal and undisguised, we can hardly wonder that, by the 62d canon, “ the churchwardens, or questmen, or assistants, if they *do, or shall* know any man within the parish, *or elsewhere*, that is.....a defender of Popish or erroneous doctrines,” are ordered “ to detect and represent the same to the bishop of the diocese, or ordinary of the place, *to be censured and PUNISHED.*”†

One instance more, and we have done with the Church of England. The reader will be sorry to find the distinguished name of Usher foremost in the disgraceful proceeding.—“ The Bishops assembled in the house of the Primate,” says Leland, “ to bear their testimony against the ungodly concessions to Popery meditated by the state. In the fervour of their zeal, these prelates *unanimously* subscribed a protestation, entitled,

* See the penalties, as detailed by Blackstone, book iii, ch. vii, § 1.

† See the “ Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland, and agreed upon in their synod, holden at Dublin, A.D. 1634.”

“The judgment of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, concerning *toleration of religion*.” In this they say:—

“The religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their church, in respect of both, apostatical. To GIVE THEM, THEREFORE, A TOLERATION, OR TO CONSENT THAT THEY MAY FREELY EXERCISE THEIR RELIGION, AND PROFESSE THEIR FAITH AND DOCTRINE, IS A GRIEVOUS SINNE..... It is to make ourselves accessory to their superstitions, idolatries, heresies, and, in one word, all the abominations of Popery. . . . And, as it is a great sinne, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence. The consideration thereof we commend to the wise and judicious, beseeching the zealous God of truth, to make THEM WHO ARE IN AUTHORITY, zealous of God's glory, and the advancement of true religion, zealous, resolute, and courageous, against all Popery, superstition, and idolatry.” Signed, November 26th, 1626, by the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, and nine Bishops, representing in all seventeen sees.”

This is a document which sets all commentary at defiance. We shall merely mention, that the “*UNGODLY CONCESSION to the Papists meditated by the State*,” was, simply, the adoption of their humble offer, to support, for the service of the State, five thousand foot and five hundred horse, on condition of their being allowed to *exercise their religion without molestation* !!

The Presbyterian Churches are no less liable to these charges. The ever-memorable “*League and Covenant—agreed upon*,” as the title states, “by the Parliamentary Commissioners and Divines, both of the Churches of England and Scotland, approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and by both Houses of Parliament and Assembly of Divines in England, 1643,” and on several subsequent occasions,—contains a distinct pledge, to which *all subscribed*, and “*with their right hand lifted up to the Most High God*, did SWEAR, that they should, without respect of persons, endeavour the EXTIRPATION of *POPERY, Prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness*, and whatsoever should be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness.”* Accordingly, in 1648, an act was passed, ordaining, that “all persons maintaining or defending, by writing or otherwise, certain heresies herein enumerated, shall, upon complaint, or proof, by the oaths of two witnesses before two justices of the peace, or confession of the party, be committed to prison, without bail or mainprize, until the next gaol delivery; and if the indictment be found, and the party refuse to abjure his said error, and his defence and maintenance of the same, he shall suffer the pains of death, as in felony, with-

* Covenant, sect. 2.

out benefit of clergy; and if he recant or abjure, he shall remain in prison until he find sureties, that he will not maintain the same errors or heresies any more; but if he relapse, and is arrested a second time, he shall suffer death, as before."†

In "the Larger Catechism agreed upon by the assembly of divines at Westminster," among the SINS FORBIDDEN BY THE SECOND COMMANDMENT, is enumerated, "the TOLERATION of a false religion;"—and in the well-known confession of Westminster, which received the same solemn sanction, the same persecuting doctrines are laid down with still greater precision. In the twentieth chapter, which, rather singularly, is headed,—*"On Christian Liberty and Liberty of Conscience,"* (sect. 4th) it is ordained, "that, for the publishing of *such opinions*, or maintaining such practices, as are contrary to the light of nature, or the pure principles of Christianity, whether concerning FAITH, WORSHIP, or *conversation*, and to the power of Godliness, they may be lawfully brought to account, and proceeded against by THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE, and the censures of the Church."

Chapter 23, sect. 3—"The civil Magistrate may not assert to himself the administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of Heaven; yet he *hath authority*, and IT IS HIS DUTY, to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the Church; and that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and *heresies be suppressed*, all corruptions and abuses in *worship and discipline* prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed."

Such are a few passages, selected, we must say, without much research, from the authentic instruments of the two National Established Churches,—taken, as the reader is aware, not from the pages of an obscure writer, possessing no weight beyond that which his arguments carry with them, nor from the notes of an unapproved and almost unknown Bible, but from documents, which the English and Scottish Clergy are obliged at their ordination to profess, and whose authority is the authority of the Church which they represent.‡ In parting from this sub-

† Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. Anno 1648.

‡ The words themselves will appear sufficiently explicit, but the passages of Scripture adduced in confirmation, would warrant the most furious extreme of persecution. See "Confession, &c. with the Scripture Proofs at large." *Edinburgh*, 1781. We have before us copious extracts, of the most unequivocal character, from "A Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland;" but we can only refer the reader, who is curious in "specimens" of intolerance, to its pages *passim*, but specially p. 188, *et seq.*

§ The contrast here pointed at has not been fully appreciated. I. The works whose intolerance is imputed to Catholics, are the productions of private individuals, without weight or authority—those from which we quote are the *authoritative instruments*

ject, we would exhort the modern apostles of intolerance to pause, for a while, in their crusade of fanaticism, and study these "*dicta priorum*," to them invaluable for their present purposes. But their lives and conduct have already manifested so thorough an acquaintance with their spirit, that we feel the charge would be worse than superfluous.*

We have devoted so much space to this very comprehensive topic, that we must confine ourselves to a mere transcript of the account of the remaining classes :—

of the Churches to which they belong. II. No Catholic subscribes, or in any way acknowledges, the authority in the first case,—in the second, *every clergyman is obliged to make a solemn and unequivocal declaration.* III. The former are in the Latin language, and only in the hands of educated men, capable of forming a judgment with regard to the arguments,—the latter are in plain English, and in the hands of all, old and young—educated and uneducated. IV. The former have received no sanction,—or, (granting the full demand of those who are most violent) at least, *these principles have been a thousand times disclaimed,—the latter possess all the public authority which the most solemn sanction, in the first instance, and the solemn and continued declarations of individual clergymen ever since, can communicate.*

The last few weeks have brought to light a new bugbear, destined to put fear and detestation of Popery into the hearts of the Protestants of Britain, and money into the pockets of the knaves who practise on their credulity. Long since, the public was assured, that Dens' was a class-book at Maynooth. This did not tell—the very authors of the falsehood have abandoned it in despair. A new ground has been taken. Bellarmine is now the text-book—a very convenient one, no doubt, and well adapted (being in four or five folio volumes) to be carried about in the pocket as a book of reference. But what is the ground? A letter of the President, in which he mentions, that the students "do not confine themselves to the treatises, (Bailly and Delahogue) but, in the library, read the *works referred to*, Tournelly, Bossuet, Bellarmine, &c." Truly this is a most satisfactory proof! On this principle, a long list of *Protestant text-books of Maynooth* might be made out. Many of the distinguished Protestant divines are "*referred to in the treatises*," (as Bull, Abbatis, T. 3, p. 11, 19, 77, &c.) and Dr. Slevin (p. 185) states, "that the students are encouraged to read Protestant controversialists along with the refutations." We shall soon, therefore, hear, that the works of Tillotson, Jeremy Taylor, and Bramhall, are *text-books of Maynooth*, and the Catholics of Ireland will be held responsible for the intolerance of the homilies and canons of the Church of England, the "Covenant," and "Confession of Westminster," or the persecuting doctrines (of a far deeper dye than those of Dens or Bellarmine, for they are written in the blood of Servetus) of Calvin and Beza. The students read in Bellarmine the subjects "to which they are referred." We defy the entire hypocritical and fanatical phalanx to point out a *single reference to any one of these passages.*

Let Mr. McGhee look to his own principles. Let him denounce the books of homilies, of common prayer, and the acts of convocation. Let him commence a crusade against the Covenant, and the Confession of Westminster. Let him denounce the memory of those who compiled, and the *living intolerance of those who subscribe, them.* Let him emancipate—not himself, for his chains are of gold, too precious to be flung aside—but his deluded hearers. Let him "lead" HIS OWN VICTIMS into the light, and life, and liberty of the Gospel. *If he do this, we shall perhaps believe that he is a sincere hater of intolerance.*

* His Lordship of Exeter will be able to furnish those, who are anxious to pursue the study, with the newest and most approved editions of all the old apologists of intolerance; as also a most important principle,—the credit of originating which is due to his Lordship himself,—that *men are accountable, and may be punished*, not only for their own opinions, but also for *those of their wives or families.*—See the account of the late proceedings at St. Ives.

"The divinity class receives two lectures weekly, of an hour each, from the Professor of Sacred Scripture. A chapter of the New Testament (or more than one if necessary) is marked out, and the students are obliged to be prepared to analyze and explain it. The class-book, used for this purpose, is the Commentary of Menochius, 3 vols. 4to.,† which the students are obliged to procure at their own expense. On one day in the week, the Professor employs an extra half hour in hearing the students comment on the Gospels, or Epistles appointed for the following Sunday; and the senior members of the class, in succession, are called upon to preach a sermon on Sundays and holidays. The students are also farther exercised, by means of public disputation, once in a month. A chapter in the Bible is selected, and they are called upon to argue on it, one against another. At the end of the year, a public examination is held, when, during three days, *all* are examined, to ascertain the proficiency which they have made. There is also a Hebrew class, formed out of the divinity students, and instruction given to them on one day in the week. All are at liberty to attend; but only a few find time, from their other studies, for the acquisition of a knowledge of Hebrew.‡ Many of the students from Connaught and Munster, and some from the other provinces, attend the Professor of Irish from five till six o'clock in the evening, during the second year of their course."—pp. 45-6.

The highest class is that of the Dunboyne students, regularly twenty in number, who—

"After completing the usual course, and exhibiting more than ordinary talent, remain for three years additional, in order to qualify themselves better for the duties of parish priests, and masters of conference, or to be professors in the College. The Dunboyne students receive £30 a-year each, besides their commons. They are allowed more liberty than the other students; are distinguished by a particular dress, and dine at a separate table. They are under the instruction of a professor, who is called the Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment. They attend four lectures in the week, two in Divinity, one in Church History, or Canon Law, and one in Hebrew."

We must content ourselves with a very brief notice of the third part of the pamphlet, which, although the longest—extending to forty 8vo. pages—is, beyond comparison, the weakest of the whole.

† No student, however, confines his reading to this Commentator. All have recourse, in difficult passages, to the more comprehensive works of A'Lapide, Estius, Maldonatus, Jansenius, or Calmet. They receive lectures also on the general questions connected with the study of the Scripture, its inspiration, canon, language, various senses, versions, &c. In all they are interrogated at the general examination.

‡ The number, we believe, varies from twenty-five to about forty. We learn from a clergyman, who was a member of the class a few years since, that, during his second year, the students read the prophecies of Zacharias and Malachi, the Lamentations of Jeremias, about thirty Psalms, and those portions of Daniel which are written in Chaldee. They also received instructions in the grammars of the Syriac and Chaldee languages.

Assuming as a fact, that a "great change has taken place in the political character of the priests within the last forty years," the writer proceeds to shew, by "the testimony of their own leaders and friends," that this change is to be attributed to the influence of Maynooth education. Accordingly, after advancing a few authorities, among whom (the *leaders* and *friends* of the Catholics) a renegade Irish Catholic, and an illiberal Scotch tourist, hold a very conspicuous place, he arrives, by generalizing facts, and repeating some of the statements already refuted, at the sweeping and logical conclusion, that, "whatever it may be thought best to do with that seminary in future, it is plainly the duty of Parliament to suspend its usual grant"! He advances no argument from the constitution of the College: but he takes care to suppress the reasons *to the contrary*, derived from the restrictions of Collegiate discipline. It is impossible that the political character of the clergy should be affected by their education at Maynooth, unless, perhaps, on the principle of reaction. "There is a law prohibiting the introduction of newspapers,"—"the severest penalties are annexed to the reading or introduction of them."* The same law regards all periodicals of a political tendency. No political discussions are permitted, no manifestation of political feeling is sanctioned among the students; and, in every movement of a political character, the College, as a public body, has been apathetic in the extreme. And yet this ingenious writer traces all "to the influence of Maynooth education"!

Every one knows, who knows any thing of Ireland, that it is vain to look here for the causes of the change—if change it can be called—of which this writer, and his croaking confederates complain so loudly. The man who confines himself to his study, and searches for it among the pamphlets of Tory parsons, or the diaries of bigoted tourists, will infallibly be disappointed in his search. Let him go abroad among the people, and view the face of the country. Let him, if his feelings are equal to the task, contemplate its manifold misery. Let him turn from the deserted and decaying village, to the mouldering ruins of the once comfortable farm-house, and enquire the little story of her misery from the squalid and mendicant mother, as she seeks, by some temporary expedient, to still the querulous hunger of her famishing orphans. He will hear every where—for, alas! there is no lack of opportunity for enquiry—some tale of local tyranny, some sacrifice of honest industry, referable only to the conscientious exercise of constitutional right, to the non-residence of the absentee landlord, or to the still more wasting presence of the grinding agent, or the heartless tithe owner. He will find, that "the

* Appen. p. 116.

causes lie much deeper than religious dissension;" that "they involve the subsistence of the people;" and that "the want of sympathy between the higher and lower classes; the unequal administration of law; the Vestry acts; the trading spirit of landlords; redundant tenantry, and the consequent frightful competition for land; the intolerable rents; the modes of letting; non-residence, and middle-men,—are some of the evils which afflict Ireland."* And when he has found, by personal examination, that this state of things is not bounded by the limits of parishes, or counties, or provinces, let him reflect whether it is wonderful that men, who have minds to estimate, and hearts to feel, this misery, with which they are in necessary and habitual contact, should have been forced into a participation of the effort which sought its alleviation. We conceive it impossible that it should be otherwise. And if, in some isolated instances, imprudent zeal, under the influence of strong temporary excitement, may have outstepped the limits of strict ecclesiastical decorum, it must be acknowledged, on the other hand, that the interference of the clergy has invariably exerted a salutary influence on the undisciplined minds of the people, procuring the silent and harmless evaporation of wild passions, wrought up to a pitch of almost pardonable frenzy, which must otherwise, by their rude explosion, have convulsed the surface of society, or, by their slow and unseen working, undermined its very foundations. Familiar with all the peculiarities of this people, knowing all the avenues through which their hearts may be reached, and all the motives by which their judgment may be satisfied, their passions hushed into silence, their feelings excited to hope, and their pride subdued in apprehension,—in a word, acquainted with all the nameless, but exhaustless machinery, by which the energies of a people so sensitive may be directed to good, and turned away from evil,—the Catholic clergy possess over them a control, which is the result at once of reverence and love, and which no other possible combination of characters could produce. "It is true," says a Protestant writer, whose language declares him no blind apologist, "that much inconvenience is experienced from the political character of the priests; but let the most thoughtless person reflect, for a moment, on the consequences which must result from any considerable diminution of their authority *they are the best check which exists to moderate the wild career of ignorance and passion.*"†

* Bicheno's Ireland, p. 197.

† Ibid, 195. "I have always felt myself, that, if the influence which the Catholic priests have over the peasantry were removed, a very useful check would be lost." (Colonel W. Curry's Evidence, 3d Report on State of Ireland, p. 299.) The last month has added another to the countless examples of this truth.

We have already far exceeded the limits originally proposed for this article. But so much time has been given to the comfortable duty of answering objections, and refuting charges, that we cannot deny ourselves the liberty of saying a few words "*proprio motu*," and upon our own authority.

These pages have been written with the well-known letter of Edmund Burke* before us, and we know no more satisfactory apologist of the studies and discipline of Maynooth. Opinion, with regard to its usefulness, will, of course, vary with political or religious feeling, but there are some observations which will strike every mind, no matter what the colour of its creed or politics. The general system of instruction seems admirably calculated to secure proficiency. Not content with mere mechanical attendance at the lectures, or the precarious plan of voluntary preparation for the periodical examinations, it provides that each student shall be liable to examination, at the daily lectures, the matter of which the Professor has previously explained. Not satisfied with testing the proficiency of the students of Theology by a shallow catechetical examination, in Scripture or Divinity, or a superficial acquaintance with "*Paley's Evidences*," or a certificate of mere attendance, during a single term of twenty or thirty lectures, the statutes arrange that the Theological and Scriptural studies, which proceed "*pari passu*," shall continue under the plan of instruction and examination already explained, during three successive years, the last of the course. The arguments of Catholic doctrine are detailed, the objections fully and fairly discussed. Each student is not only at liberty, but is even encouraged, to propose any difficulty which may occur to his mind; it is a point of duty with the Professor to explain it to his perfect satisfaction† It has been a favourite charge, that, in examining controverted questions, the students are confined to what is called the "*Distorted View*" of their own treatise, kept in utter ignorance of the arguments of the adversary, and shut out from all means of ascertaining the real grounds of the dispute. Nothing can be more unfounded. The Librarian, Dr. Slevin, (p. 185), states that "*they have a large collection of Protestant authors, on all religious subjects, and on controversy in particular; that the students have free access to them; that they are never prohibited from reading them, but, on the contrary, are encouraged to read them along with the refutations.*" But, in truth, it is impossible not to be struck by the contrast between Catholic and Protestant polemical works,

* Vol. 6, pp. 280, *et seq.* We can only refer to it. He seems to have anticipated most of the objections which are now made to the system.

† Append. p. 186.—Dr. Slevin's Examination.

in this particular. In the former, the larger portion of the treatise is *invariably* devoted to the objections of adversaries; in the latter, these objections are either suppressed altogether, or, more commonly, unfairly represented.

It appears from a comparison of the number of students, who leave the College at the expiration of each year, with the annual deficit of clergy throughout the kingdom, that the College is not by any means adequate to supply the exigencies of the mission. Hence, there has always been an anxiety to increase the number of students, and, consequently, to extend the accommodations which the building affords. With the single exception of the Duke of Bedford's administration, no encouragement has been held out to enable the trustees to carry into effect this very just and reasonable design. The surplus funds, which "the occasional cheapness of provisions," or unceasing economy in the management of the Collegiate revenues, placed in the hands of the Bursar, supplied the only means for its accomplishment. The consequence is obvious. From a well-meant, and perhaps necessary, but certainly unfortunate, economy, many things have found their way into the system, injurious to the real interest, no less than to the respectability, of the Establishment. Instead of improving, or perfecting what had been already done, the sole object seems to have been to enlarge and extend the building. Thus, the general appearance of the house, although free, perhaps, from any substantial defect, is tasteless and inelegant: while the library, though very well provided in ecclesiastical works, is not as well supplied with modern books of literature and science, as might be desired in such an Institution. Thus the students are, to a great extent, debarred from the means of consulting the modern works, in the several departments of their study; and a tax is imposed upon the Professors, to meet which their paltry salaries are altogether inadequate. Under any circumstances, indeed, they are quite out of proportion with the importance and responsibility of the offices which they hold.*

* The following are the salaries of the Superiors and Professors of Maynooth College;—

President,	-	-	£326
Vice-President,	-	-	150
Prefect of Dunboyne Establishment and Librarian,	-	-	140
Senior Dean, Bursar, Professors of Theology, Professor of	-	-	
Scripture, each	-	-	122
Junior Dean and remaining Professors, each	-	-	112

Thus the revenue of one Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, is *nineteen or twenty times as great* as that of the Divinity Professors at Maynooth, and *exceeds* in amount the *united salaries of all the Professors*, of Divinity, Philosophy, and Languages!

There is another, however, and a more substantial evil, which, though it cannot be charged upon the institution, yet tends, more than all the rest, to paralyze its energies; we mean the imperfect system of education, in reference to general subjects, *pursued in the public schools in many parts of Ireland.* This is a defect, which the professional education may remedy, but cannot absolutely remove, and which must be a great obstacle to the full developement of the system. The leading feature of the plan of national education, proposed by the Catholics, on the passing of the relief-bill in 1793, was, the establishment of a grammar school in each diocese, for the purposes of preparatory education. The plan was suspended by the Government measure for the foundation of a Catholic College: but, although part of the provisions were realized in the establishment of one general Seminary, the equally, if not more, important care of early education was still left to the precarious resources of an impoverished people. The motive of the Government measure, even at the time, was a matter of dispute. While some were content to acknowledge with gratitude the bounty, which, poor as it was, was scarcely expected; others, and, in fact, the greater number, regarded it, as the cold concession of policy, rather than the free gift of benevolence; and certainly, long experience has since proved, that it was neither sufficiently extended in its application, nor sufficiently comprehensive in its plan, to meet the object for which it was professedly intended. To develop fully all its advantages, by preparing *all* the students to profit *equally* by the extensive course of Philosophy and Divinity, which it comprises, the plan should have embraced, as did that which it superseded, the establishment of Diocesan Schools, wherein all the necessary preparatory studies might have been gone through. Sensible, indeed, of this fact, and seeking, as far as their limited resources would permit, to supply the deficiency, many of the Catholic Bishops have established elementary schools in their dioceses. But, without looking to the injustice of leaving to the unaided exertions of private individuals, already sufficiently burdened, a matter of such difficulty as the early instruction of so large a community, it is obvious, that, in the present struggling and impoverished condition of Ireland, Catholic education, upon such a footing, must necessarily be precarious. We cannot leave the subject, therefore, without saying, that it is a matter which demands immediate and decided interference. It is an injustice to which the eyes of the people are already opened; and which is thrown out into stronger and more striking relief, by the exposure, becoming every day more public, of the enormous revenues devoted to the support of Protestantism. We cannot believe, that an enlightened public

will longer sanction the anomalous state of things, in which, as we have shown, SEVEN MILLIONS OF THE IRISH PEOPLE RECEIVE FOR THE EDUCATION OF THEIR CLERGY, AND THE SUPPORT OF THEIR RELIGION, JUST THE ONE-HUNDRED-AND-EIGHTH PART OF THE SUM APPROPRIATED TO THE RELIGIOUS USES OF THE REMAINING MILLION.

In the details which we have given, the reader will find, we are sure, sufficient grounds to justify him in "reconsidering the case of Maynooth College," and forming, we doubt not, a decision, very different from that to which the insidious writer before us would lead him. If the Institution were still untried, if it were unable to refer to facts, in confirmation of the principles on which its defence is grounded, the enemies of religion might hope to crush it, by filling the public mind with prejudice, and withdrawing all opportunity for the display of its real character. But "the trial of forty years" gives the lie to their impotent calumnies; and experience, the surest test of merit, has established, in the hearts and affections of the people, a character which is beyond their power. A Hierarchy, above the reach of slander, a learned, zealous and devoted Clergy, who, in joy and in sorrow, in good and evil repute, have stood by the side of their people, ministering to their wants, and solacing their miseries, while they preserved their faith from corruption, and "guided their souls unto justice"—these are living monuments of the public services of Maynooth College—undeniable testimonies to its capacity for good. These are its surest foundations—the well-tried virtue of the Clergy it has produced, the enduring and affectionate reverence of the people to whom their lives are devoted. He, who would assail its good name with any prospect of ultimate success, must turn his thoughts to an indispensable preliminary step—he must annihilate the one, or revolutionize the other.

ART. VII.—*Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in Deutschland. Materials for the Ecclesiastical History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century.* 8vo. Augsburg. 1835.

IT is high time to call the attention of the world to the system of slow and silent persecution which has been long wasting the strength, and exhausting the patience, of our continental brethren, the subjects of Protestant princes. It is a solemn duty of those, who have the means, to expose to the just indig-

nation of our country the artful and heartless plan, which prevails in several states, and particularly in Prussia, of making the most sacred rights of Catholics, whether based upon natural or constitutional law, matter either of police regulation, or of annoying domiciliary legislation; and this for the avowed purpose of undermining their religion. We have used two epithets confessedly severe, but we retract, nay we modify, them not. That this system of persecution is *heartless*, that it is unfeeling to the last degree, will be readily acknowledged by all, who are aware of its form and character. For if the constant, the unwearied, the unrelaxing enmity of a legal adversary, who pursues his victim in malice through one tribunal after another, deserve that appellation; if the untiring spy who tracks an unwary being by day and by night, at home and abroad, to entangle him within the meshes of the law, unmoved by pity, unchecked by resistance—if such a one can be called heartless in his conduct, then have we not adopted too strong an epithet to characterize the system which we are about to describe. And as to its being most *artful*, it is so to such an extent as to deceive, if possible, “even the elect.” Von Raumer himself, with all his sagacity and information, appears to believe that the utmost impartiality is observed by the Prussian government in its dealings with Catholics. Nay, he repeats one of his own replies to a person that condemned the conduct of Prussia towards her Catholic subjects; and assures us that it was distinguished only “by justice, charity, confidence, and a scrupulous equality in the treatment of them and of the Protestants.”*

The reader will shortly see some amiable specimens of this impartiality, charity and justice. If, however, the professor of history in Berlin could be thus deceived, what wonder, that in England, Prussia should have been often pointed out, in our periodical works, as a fair model for imitation in the practical application of tolerant principles? And yet, God forbid that it should ever be adopted, even in poor Ireland! Better the tithe-proctor than the spy; more tolerable the open assaults of an adverse religion, than the smothering protection of a hostile government.

If hitherto the covert and scattered workings of the system have enabled it to escape the notice of the public, the little work before us has left it no chance of lying any longer concealed. We need not say that every thing was done to prevent its obtaining circulation; even though printed in the Bavarian territory, the influence of the Prussian cabinet was employed to procure

* England in 1835, Vol. I. p. 14, Austin's Trans.

an order from Munich for its suppression. The order came, and was executed; but the book had already flown across the length and breadth of Germany, it had already awakened the sympathies and the indignation of the people; and *five* copies, if we are rightly informed, were all that remained to be seized. It is our intention to lay before our readers the substance of this work, which is a collection of materials for future history, rather than a continued narrative. We shall not, however, follow the order observed by the author, nor even refer to his page for all that we shall draw from him. They, who wish to see the painful topic treated in all its harassing details, must peruse the work itself; they, who are anxious to know how deeply and how practically the grievances, which it exposes, are felt through the country, must converse with those whom they affect. We will gladly abide by the result of either investigation.

The Catholic subjects of Prussia are nearly, if not quite, equal in number to those who profess the Protestant religion. In 1827, the Protestants of all communions amounted to 6,370,380, while the Catholics were reckoned at 4,023,513, or considerably more than the members of either the Lutheran or Reformed Church. Hassel had, however, previously estimated the Protestants at 5,187,900, and the Catholics at, 4,352,000, thus bringing them much nearer to an equality with the united force of the other two religions.

It is important to remind our readers, in this place, that the Catholic worship is as fully tolerated and recognized by law as either of the others, and that the professor of one faith stands before the eye of his country on a perfect equality with the professor of another. Again, in some provinces, as in the Rhenish district, the population is essentially and entirely Catholic, as much so, at least, as in Brandenburg or Western Prussia it is Protestant; that is to say, in the former the Protestants, in the latter the Catholics, are the exception. Impartiality of treatment, therefore, may easily be tested. Whatever religious rights the Protestants of the eastern provinces may possess, the Catholics of the western ought surely to enjoy; whatever consideration is had of the spiritual concerns of the small congregations, or few isolated Protestants, who happen to live scattered amidst the Catholic population, should not certainly be refused to the no less numerous Catholics, who are mingled with the great body of Protestants in the original dominions of Prussia. Now then, let us see how the case stands.

Whenever a *small* congregation of Protestants is formed, a Church, or public hall, a clergyman and a school are immediately granted for the benefit of their religion; whenever a *large* con-

gregation of Catholics collects, and applies, as is required, for permission to have a place of worship, the application is sure to be rejected. For examples of the first assertion, we need only cite the cases of Habelschwerd, Landek, Lublinitz, Mollna, and Ottmachan, the number of Protestant inhabitants in which varies only from 32 to 78; yet they have obtained, without difficulty, parish churches with resident, or chapels with occasional, pastors.

For a proof of the second, let us take the case of Görlitz. Here was a congregation of 600 Catholics, besides the garrison, and 150 culprits condemned to the public works. They had no place of worship nearer than Janernick, distant two German, or eight English, miles. Again and again, they applied for permission to provide themselves with a chapel, but to no purpose. In 1826, they presented a memorial directly to the King, a memorial at once manly and pathetic, entreating him to take their case into consideration. They spoke of their situation, they enumerated their previous but fruitless applications. It had been originally their intention, they said, to apply for the use of one of the seven evangelical churches, of which six were originally Catholic, and four were now hardly ever used: but the Protestants would not agree, and they now, therefore, simply entreated to be allowed to buy a private house, (*ein Privatlocal*) and to erect a church, with a school and dwelling for their pastor. Look, they exclaimed, to the condition of the old, the weak, and the sickly; look to the hardship experienced even by the young and the strong, in the heats of summer and the inclemency of winter, journeying over a distance of eight miles to a place of worship. Nor were their children, 100 in number, less the objects of pity. Without instructors, and the means of instruction, they entreated permission to erect places of prayer and education, where their youth might be taught the duty of good subjects, and instructed to pray for his Majesty's welfare. The answer to this moving petition, directed to the two deputies who had signed the memorial, on behalf of their fellow-religionists, deserves to be recorded. It is as follows:--

"The undersigned ministry informs the Currier Kögler and the Builder Röhnisch, with regard to their direct application of 20th ult., that the King's Majesty is not pleased to grant their request for the erection of a church and parochial system.

(Signed)

"MINISTRY FOR SPIRITUAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND MEDICAL AFFAIRS."
Berlin, 26th Nov. 1826.

This decision of the church, school, and medical department, requires no comment. Yet it is right to give the conclusion of

this affair. Three years later, and after eight years of unceasing application, its prayer was granted; that is, leave was given to have the Catholic worship performed *nine times a year for the old and weak*, on condition, however, that it should not be in any place specially destined for the purpose, but *in a private house, to be hired for the occasion* ! The local authorities were enjoined to watch most strictly over the fulfilment of this condition, and a threat was added, that otherwise the severest penalties would ensue. There, there is toleration for you ! Without a royal leave, *toties quoties* to be obtained, after eight years of bitter refusals, mass cannot even be said in a private house ! The Catholics of Great Britain were not worse off a hundred years ago, than their brethren of Prussia are now.

But this is not a solitary case. In Mullhausen, in 1813, the French, without interfering with the funds, had made over to the Catholics, who were 500 in number, at the last census, the Church of St. James, which had only been used once, or at most twice, by the Protestants. At the peace, the Prussian government annulled this arrangement, though the Catholics were thus left without any place of worship nearer than two German miles, and though two churches had been taken from the Catholics in that district, and given to the Protestants. These, we need not add, were not restored. Report said, when our author wrote, that, after all, the Church of St. James was to be yielded to the Catholics. "Should this be verified," he adds, "we will gladly, for the astonishment of the world, append the joyful intelligence to the errata, as a rare phenomenon in Prussia."

Another example, from the left bank of the Rhine, a country entirely Catholic. In 1818, the Protestants of Treves solicited the joint use of one of the Catholic Churches,—the *Simultaneum*, as it is called in Germany,—and the magistrates proposed two parish churches for the purpose. However, after some deliberation, the *Simultaneum* of the seminary Church was granted, until, as the ministerial decree expressed it, they should be provided with a place of worship exclusively their own. Now, government had already in its hands the beautiful, but suppressed Church of St. Martin, which it was intended to give them. But this would have been no triumph over the Catholic population; so that first, this church was turned into an almost uninhabitable barrack, and then the seminary Church was declared public property, and by a cabinet order, dated 25th February, 1819, made over entirely to the Protestants ! The basis of the grant was perfectly false; for the right of the seminary and gymnasium to the church was fully recognised by law. Every remonstrance, however, proved unavailing; and the Catholics were left to the necessity of begging

subscriptions, either for the erection of a church, or for the repurchase from the Protestants of the one whereof they had been despoiled.

We must leave this portion of our task more than half unfinished. Suffice it to say, that never yet has a Protestant Church been ceded to the Catholics, while every where Catholic ones have been seized for the Protestants. In Gallanz, a fine well-built church belonging to the Catholics was given to their rivals, and the Catholics were left to perform their devotions in an old and ruinous building. In Warburg, the beautiful Dominican Church was given to the Protestants, and the Catholics, whose forefathers had built it, were left to build another; for the one granted to them in exchange was already threatening to fall, and has since carried its threats into effect. But we pass over these things, as we do also the unequal treatment of the two religions in point of provision for the clergy; and hasten to another part of our subject.

In countries where the two religions are equally tolerated, it is usual to have separate universities, in which the theological faculty is exclusively for the members of its own creed. Thus it is in Bavaria, where there are two, one Protestant, and the other Catholic. In Prussia, we might naturally expect the same arrangement; but, on the contrary, the usual partiality for one side is evidently manifested. For the 6,000,000 Protestants, there are four universities, at Berlin, Halle, Königsberg, and Greifswalde. These are strictly Protestant, not only in the theological faculty, but in every other; for the solitary Catholic professor, who resides, is allowed only as an exception. In fact, when the royal commissioner of the university, Brackedorg, embraced the Catholic faith, he was dismissed from his post; and when two eminent law-professors, Jarke and Phillips, took the same steps, they were likewise deprived of their chairs, and one of them, at least, compelled to seek an asylum in a foreign land. But for the Catholics, who are above 4,000,000, two *half universities* are sufficient. They have no such establishments to themselves; they possess only a share in the two mixed universities of Bonn and Breslau, in each of which there is a double professor of each class of theology, and a double faculty, the one Catholic, and the other Protestant. Thus the Catholic youth can never study in any place removed from controversial jars: while the Protestant is kept out of all danger of similar inconveniences, by the exclusiveness of his universities. The professors of other faculties belong to either religion, but, like the commissary royal, are most of them Protestants. While the Protestants have thus four entire universities, with the half of two others, and the Catholics

have only the sorry remnant of these two, or rather only a section of this remnant, be it remembered, that the latter bear no less than five-twelfths, or nearly one-half, of the public burthens, out of which these establishments are supported. Here again is impartiality and equal treatment; and yet this is far from the worst feature of the university system.

The Catholic ecclesiastical authorities have no voice in the nomination of the theological professors. The Bishop is simply asked whether he has any thing to object, *on proof*, against the candidate before nomination. This candidate may be an utter stranger, of whom the bishop knows nothing; he may be free from open immorality, or heretical doctrine; he may be out of the reach of demonstrable accusation; and as the bishop, therefore, can *prove* nothing to his disadvantage, he is forthwith installed, and placed beyond the limits of Catholic jurisdiction. Lamentable instances of the working of this system could be quoted. A foreign professor was named to Breslau; he began to teach the most scandalous doctrines,—that the scripture was not inspired, that its narratives were fabulous, &c. Complaints were made to the bishop, and by the bishop, but in vain. It was not till after many years—it was not till after the poison had widely circulated among his pupils, that he was at length removed. With the excellent Jarke and Phillips proceedings were not so dilatory.

In like manner, the impious and worthless Dereser, after having been instrumental, during the last century, in corrupting the faith and morals of the German youth, in the university of Bonn,* after having been expelled from Switzerland by the young men whom he had striven to seduce, and who pursued him from Lucerne with the design of corporally chastising him—after having been driven by his scholars from the seminary of Rottenburg, and having seen his works on scripture condemned at Rome, as containing all the principles of modern infidelity—even he was, in 1811, unblushingly nominated Catholic professor of biblical hermeneutics at Breslau, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of the Prince-bishop.

But the Universities are not the worst part of Prussian arrangements for Catholic education. In the gymnasia, or schools of a higher order, will easily be discovered symptoms of the same insidious policy, and the same unfair partiality. In Silesia, as Theines informs us, the colleges of the Jesuits were converted into such establishments, and, for a time, directed by their old superiors.

* We speak of the Bonn of 1786, when first opened by the Elector of Cologne, as a university for the doctrine of the impious *Illuminati*. At present, with such men for professors as Klee, Windischmann, Walther, &c., it will compete with any other in Europe for solid learning, and sound principles.

Gradually, however, these and all other ecclesiastics have been removed; young lay professors have been installed; and the bishop may reckon himself happy that one clergyman is allowed to remain, and, under a strict injunction of avoiding all fanaticism in matters of religion, and of saying nothing that can shock his *Protestant* hearers, is permitted to give religious instruction once, or at most twice, in the week. In fact, the bishop has no influence over the education of his future clergy, save what a residence of a few months in a seminary can give, after years of contact with the corrupted, demoralized, or, at least, unecclesiastical elements which compose too many universities.

These gymnasias or colleges were many of them Catholic endowments. But, in Prussia, there is little stir about "appropriation clauses," when the spoil is Popish. Short work is made with it—it is all considered the property of the state. As with the Churches, however, so with other sacred possessions, the reciprocity, to use an Irish phrase, is all on one side. It is the old question of *whose* bull has gored; "the case is altered," when the property is that of the man-in-power. In Cologne, the Carmelite College has been made over to the Protestants, that of Erfurt has been declared a *mixed* establishment, that is to say, every individual professor is Protestant, except one clergyman, who gives religious instruction! In Düsseldorf, also, a Catholic gymnasium has been changed into a mixed one, in a spirit of such impartiality, that, when Professor Durst embraced the Catholic faith, it cost him no little labour to retain his chair. We need not say that never was a Protestant gymnasium changed into a Catholic, or even into a mixed, establishment. Foreign education is discountenanced, and discouraged in every way, and he, who ventures to receive it from the Jesuits, must first have renounced all worldly ambition. As to elementary schools, and indeed education in general, we may observe, that it is under the control of a provincial board, consisting of a Protestant president and three councillors, and, where the number of Catholics is considerable, *one* Catholic member. All the subalterns are Protestants. In the two Catholic districts of the Rhine and Westphalia, the place of Catholic councillor was, for several years, left unoccupied, till the schools were all reorganized; and in Saxony, with 100,000 Catholics, it was lately still vacant. A Protestant clergyman is generally the real administrator of all the Catholic education. Under him, even the Catholic bishop sits, in a matter of such vital importance to his religion!

Now for religious instruction. There is a *censure* for books, the head quarters of which are in Berlin, though its representatives are to be found in every province. Every person employed

in this department, it is needless to say, is a Protestant. Even the bishop's pastorals are subject to the provincial president's revision.

The Catholics complain that, while any writing passes muster, which contains abuse against them, every polemical writing of theirs, which is severe against Protestants, meets a rigid scrutiny, and stands the surest chance of being rejected. Nay, even the official paper, as well as other periodical publications, in the pay, and under the direct control, of the government, is used as a vehicle of the grossest slander against Catholics, while every foreign Catholic journal, which ventures to defend their cause, is forbidden admission into the state. It has been remarked, too, that no professor who boldly vindicates the doctrines of his creed, has any chance of promotion; and we are told, that Frendenfeld was obliged to quit Bonn, for presuming to comment on a certain awkward saying of Luther, whom it is not lawful to speak of in Prussia, but with respect. The pulpit is under the same restraint; there is liberty of declamation on the one side, and the strictest restraint on the other.

From matters ecclesiastical, and educational, let us descend to the state of social life, and see the equality of treatment observed in civil and military appointments. The treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, secured to the Catholics religious liberty, and the full possession of their church and school property. The treaty of Breslau, in 1740, which made Silesia subject to Prussia, expressly guaranteed the maintenance of the Catholic religion *in statu quo*. So sacred was this stipulation in the eyes of Frederick the Great, that, when the Pope abolished the Society of Jesus, he refused to allow the execution of the decree, and ordered his envoy at Rome to say: "J'ai garanti au traité de Breslau *in statu quo* la religion Catholique, et je n'ai jamais trouvé de meilleurs prêtres à leurs égard." He added playfully; "Vous ajouterez que, parceque j'appartiens à la classe des hérétiques, le saint père ne peut pas me dispenser de tenir ma parole, ni du devoir d'un honnête homme, et d'un roi." But the Jesuits, faithful to their vows and principles, earnestly represented to the king that a command of the Sovereign Pontiff must be obeyed; and the monarch, amazed at such an instance of resolute fidelity, sanctioned, at their express request, the act of their suppression. On another occasion, when urged by his infidel allies in France, to imitate the imperial example of Joseph II, by seizing church property, he replied, in a letter to D'Alembert,—"In my dominions no body is disturbed; the rights of property, on which civil society is based, I hold sacred." Such was the regard of the *philosophe* monarch for the rights of his Catholic subjects. Since his time,

further guarantees have been given. In 1802, it was agreed that the secularized lands should enjoy their full rights over church property, and school property, churches and schools: at the Congress of Vienna, it was settled that the Catholics and Protestants should be on a footing of perfect equality; and by the Concordat of 16th July, 1821, it was generally arranged that many other points, necessary for the welfare of the Church, should be secured.

Such are the grounds of Catholic freedom; what we have already said will show how far such provisions, as affect Church property and schools, have been observed. Let us proceed to enquire how the social equality of the two religions has been displayed. At court, there is not a single Catholic who holds a place. The government is conducted by several ministerial departments; the heads of all are Protestant. Each department has a number of councillors, who form boards, having each a chief; every chief, with one *nominal* exception, is a Protestant. Of the host of councillors at Berlin, only three are Catholics. Among the clerks and other subalterns, no Catholic. There is a state-council for important affairs, the members of which are scattered through the provinces; every member is a Protestant. If there be any Catholic, it is quite an exception. The Post-Office department, throughout the states, down to local post-masters, is exclusively Protestant. All ambassadors, consuls, &c. are, of course, Protestant, though sent to Catholic courts. We could mention a most worthy nobleman, who lost his diplomatic situation, by becoming a Catholic, and has since been appointed to a foreign embassy by Austria.

How shall we explain the minute ramifications of local government? The task is difficult, but we will do our best. The state is divided into provinces; and each province is ruled by a High President, *Ober Prääsident*. Of course he is a Protestant, and yet to him are committed the religious interests of the Catholics. Each province is divided into districts, (*Bezirk*) governed by a president, always a Protestant, by a vice-president, councillors of a higher and lower class, assessors, secretaries, &c. Even in provinces entirely Catholic, every one of these, without an exception worth naming, belongs to the Protestant creed. Each district is divided into circles, which are composed of cantons as these are of communes. Each circle has a magistrate at its head, almost always a Protestant, or, if by chance a Catholic, fettered by a Protestant secretary. The inferior officers and rulers, even in Catholic provinces, are very often Protestant; but there is no instance of a Catholic holding any even of these small situations, in a Protestant district.

Judicial appointments follow the same rule. The president and vice-president of every tribunal, (of the latter there may *yet* remain a few exceptions,) and most of the assessors, and councillors, are, even in the Catholic provinces, Protestants. The inferior departments of the judicature are generously thrown open to Catholics.

Come we now to the army. Prussia is essentially a great military power, and justly boasts of a splendid war establishment. It owes its organisation to the skill and efforts of Marshal Gneisenau, a Catholic born, and educated by Jesuits! Some policy would appear to suggest to such a government, that religious bigotry should not be mixed up with army regulations, that, where the danger and the toil was equal, where the blood of him who heard mass might have to flow as gushingly as that of him who had listened to the new state liturgy, and where fidelity to the king would be best secured by giving the subject at least the means of being faithful to his God,—*there*, at any rate, equality of treatment and equality of encouragement should be found. We should not expect to read religious exclusions in the order of the day. Unfortunately, however, the reverse is the fact. It is not necessary for us to enter into any exposition of the Prussian army system, its line and landwehr. Suffice it to state, for the benefit of any reader unacquainted with it, that, throughout the Prussian dominions, every youth, with very few exceptions, must enter the regular army at twenty years of age, and be a common soldier for three years. He then passes, for two more, into the reserve, and, after that, belongs to the landwehr or militia till his thirty-second year. Having before given the relative proportions of the Catholic and Protestant population, it will be easily seen what share of the army belongs to each religion. In the two *corps d'armées* of Prussia and Silesia, one-half is Catholic; in that of Posen two-thirds, in that of Westphalia and Cleves three-fifths; finally, in the Rhenish division seven-eighths. In all, the Catholics, serving on the peace establishment of Prussia, amount to seventy or eighty thousand men. *Yet have they not one field-officer, not a general or major, and very few captains, of their religion.*

But the great hardship, of which the poor Catholics have to complain, is the way in which, being forced by law to become soldiers, the soldiers are again forced by law to neglect their religion, or, at least, to see it treated with shameful disparity. In 1832, a royal order was issued to regulate the chaplaincy of regiments. Its preamble states, that the purport of the decree is to consolidate the acts relative to this subject, subsequent to the decree of 28th March, 1811, and to provide suitably for the religious

wants of the army. Article I. states, that, during war, the number of chaplains, Evangelical and Catholic, shall be regulated by the respective wants of the two. In time of peace, the following is the number of Evangelicals. 1. A *field provost* for the entire army, who treats with the ministry concerning all that regards military ecclesiastical affairs. 2. For every *corps d'armée*, an *Oberprediger*, or superior chaplain, and for each of its two divisions a *divisions prediger*, or division preacher. 3. Garrison preachers. 4. Chaplains for military institutions, the invalid hospitals, cadet and orphan establishments. Now, after all this ample provision of military ecclesiastics, for the spiritual care of the Protestants, we might expect a similar, or at least a proportionate, solicitude for the welfare of the Catholic *five-twelfths*, in the same body. But why imagine that, though expected to fight as stoutly as their Protestant fellow-soldiers, they are entitled to enjoy an equal share of religious comfort and encouragement? Cromwell's soldiers used to say, that they would not fight unless they were allowed to preach; the poor Catholics of Germany would be extravagant to demand that they should be preached to. Not even a single Catholic chaplain is appointed, or decreed for the entire army. To be sure, if the Catholic soldier is quartered within reach of a Catholic clergyman, the latter may have access to him, but under what restrictions we shall see just now.

The fourth section decrees that all persons in active service, from superior officers down to the lowest hanger-on, their wives and children, are members of the military parish; in other words form the flock of the chaplain of the division. The article concludes with these words: "The creed of individuals has no influence on the parochial arrangements." So that a Protestant clergyman is actually made the only spiritual director of the Catholic troops—they are made his subjects, and counted, in spite of their consciences and their religious feelings, among his parishioners. And this is Prussia, in which the Catholics were aroused to arms, in 1813, by being told that they were going to fight for civil and *religious* liberty!

But the worst is still behind. The section on marriages, and baptisms of soldiers' infants, is artfully contrived. If a Catholic wishes to have either of these sacraments administered by his own clergyman, he must first have a demissorial from his Protestant military curate. This, however, is only for Catholics: no Protestant can ever obtain permission to apply for spiritual assistance in these cases to any but his military pastor: and thus, while the catholic is exposed to the temptation of accepting the ministration of a Protestant clergyman, who may refuse his leave,

or whose services are at hand, the Protestant is carefully excluded by the law from all danger to his faith by coming into contact with a Catholic ecclesiastic. There may be a thousand reasons, which a Catholic will easily understand, why a soldier, about to marry, may not like to encounter the unreserved explanations, which a Catholic priest might feel it his duty to demand. To many, therefore, a clause like this, which renders it unnecessary to approach him, must be invaluable.

The fifth section is still more intolerable. It runs as follows: "Military worship must be performed according to the liturgy prescribed for the army;" that is, a *Protestant* liturgy. "The preacher shall so arrange, on the principal festivals and Sundays, that *all* may be present, at least once a month." In other words, for three years, every Catholic is compelled by law to neglect his own worship, and, on certain occasions, to attend another, of which his conscience disapproves. Bitterly do the poor Catholic soldiers complain of this harsh and cruel law, which exists in no Catholic state. Nay, even in England, before the passing of the Relief Bill, the late Duke of York, on more than one occasion, ordered the commanding officers of regiments to make arrangements for the attendance of Catholic soldiers at their own worship. To complete this picture of equality, we will only add, that, in the garrison schools, for the education of soldiers' children, the masters are all Protestant clergymen, and that not a Catholic is allowed among them.

After seeing how every department of government patronage is exclusively in the hands of one persuasion, we have yet to see how the same spirit of one-sided legislation penetrates into the privacy of domestic life, and interposes between the natural and lawful affections of those whom God hath joined. We allude to the delicate subject of *mixed marriages*, or marriages in which the parties are a Catholic and a Protestant. Much, indeed, have we to say upon this subject, the most harrassing and distressing head of ecclesiastical legislation in Germany, for several years back. We know not whether we shall ever take up the subject more fully; but at present we can only say, that sad has been the discord and disunion which the clashing of religious principles with human laws has produced; distressing has been the position wherein the chief pastors of the Church have been placed; and little honourable the arts by which government has striven to overcome the convictions, and stifle the feelings, of the Catholic priesthood. This view of our subject, however, we must pass over; as it is necessary to confine ourselves to a simple enunciation of the Prussian law.

The Catholic Church never approves or allows a mixed

marriage, without the previous stipulation that *all* the children shall be educated in her religion. The Prussian *landrecht* or law of the land, *formerly contained* the following provisions. (Vol. ii. Tit. 2, § 76, 77.) First, till fourteen years of age, the boys shall be brought up in the father's, and the girls in the mother's, religion. Secondly, *neither party can bind the other, even by a voluntary compact, to any other course*; and in § 81, it is added, that conversion during a last illness is not to be counted of any avail. Now if such matters as these could be justly interfered with by legislation, it might be said that the provision, here made, was equitable. Be it so: yet we would still ask, is it right to interfere between the private agreements of parties so closely and sacredly connected; and if a willing compact has been made, to sanction the violation of it, and thus open a door to bad faith and deceit? The framers of the law, however, well knew that such compacts were seldom made, except in favour of the *Catholic* education of all the children.

But we emphatically said that the law *formerly contained* this provision: for in fact it is superseded by another; and if the former was equitable, this, at least, will not be thought so. No sooner did Prussia, in 1803, obtain the great portion of its Catholic states, than a new order was issued, dated 21st November, to the following effect: "His majesty enacts, that children born in wedlock shall all be educated in the religion of the father; and that, in opposition to this provision, neither party can bind the other." Now mark the working of this law. Almost all mixed marriages take place in the Catholic provinces, where the only Protestants are the numerous civil and military *employés*, sent thither by the government. These are mostly unmarried, and we believe, purposely sent young. They form intimacies with the Catholic families among which they live, and almost necessarily marry into them. As they are well provided for, the temptation is generally too strong to be resisted; the children born *must* be brought up Protestants, and thus settlements of this religion are every where springing up amidst the Catholic population, which of course will engross all government patronage, and, by farther intermarriages, propagate their creed. In 1825, by an order, dated August 17th, this law was extended to the Rhenish provinces, and severe denunciations were sent forth against such Catholic ecclesiastics as should venture to have the children all brought up in their religion.

But a curious document has come to light upon this subject. In 1831, the government printed a large work, entitled "Revision of the laws." It is a collection of private instructions for the local authorities, upon the meaning and spirit of the laws;

and a copy having strayed among the uninitiated, was employed by Dr. Benkert in his "Religions Freund," for the detection of the views entertained by the Prussian government. Among other things, we are here expressly assured, § 42, that "the alteration of the law," above rehearsed, "was made as an effectual measure against the proselyting system of Catholics,"—a candid acknowledgment of the purpose which we have attributed to the government, the prevention of the fair growth of Catholicity. But there are several curious cases of application given to guide the decisions of magistrates, a few of which, as striking specimens of impartial justice, we must transcribe.

Case 1. Two Protestants, whose wives, and consequently daughters (according to the first law), were Catholics, upon the death of the former, wished to bring up the latter Protestants. This was against § 76; but in defiance of the remonstrances of the priest, was decided in their favour, on the ground, that in § 44, it was decreed that no *third* person should interfere between the married couple! A decision worthy of Sancho, when governor of his island. The mother being dead, who was the *second* party?

Case 2. In Erfurt, a man died, and left *all* his children Catholics, according to the second law there in force. The Protestant widow desired to have them brought up Protestants. On the 15th of May, 1825, the minister of justice refused her prayer, as contrary to law; but on the 25th of August, the King granted it, derogating from the law, in her favour, and exempting her from its operation.

Case 3. The *reformed* widow of a Lutheran husband became a Catholic. The daughters had been baptised by reformed or Lutheran clergymen; and she now wished to use her right of bringing them up in her own religion. This, however, was opposed as a case not provided for by law. In England, parental rights, and the manifest analogy of law, would have prevailed. Not so in Prussia. It was decided that the persuasion in which the father died must be respected, and the daughters brought up in the religion wherein they had been baptised.

We are no lawyers, and therefore we leave discussions upon these decisions to such as are. All we can say is, that, if there be warrant for them in law, to our minds there is but little justice.

The laws to which we have hitherto referred, concern matters common to both religions; they are those, consequently, in which the equality guaranteed by treaty and law should most naturally and most forcibly have been exhibited. The old law forbade the yoking of two animals of unequal dimensions to one plough,

as symbolical of the injustice of an unequal pressure of the law upon men who, drawing the same weight, should all bear their due proportion :—how this symbol is verified in Prussia, the foregoing statements may well declare.—We have been so diffuse upon this part of our subject, that we must give but a hurried sketch of those laws which are framed for the special *comfort* of Catholics exclusively.

First : All direct communication between the Catholics and the Holy See is expressly forbidden, and the prohibition is strictly enforced. All enquiries which a bishop may wish to make of the Sovereign Pontiff, on matters innumerable concerning his diocese, must pass through the hands of a Protestant ministry, and be forwarded or not, according to its discretion. The matter of consultation may regard one of the many painful situations in which the government enactments have placed him or his clergy : there is no remedy : all must be forwarded through the same channel. The Papal answer is subject to the same ordeal, and is not admitted without a royal *placet*. Hence it frequently happens, either that letters fail to reach the Pope, or that their answers never arrive at their destination. A curious case of not very creditable interference with such important correspondence, is mentioned by our author. The government very properly wished to have some uniformity regarding the observance of festivals, which differed in the various provinces, and in some were considered too numerous. The Archbishop of Cologne was desired to make out a list of such as he thought should be kept ; and this, when ready, he sent to Berlin, to be thence forwarded through the usual channel to Rome, for the approbation of the reigning Pontiff, Leo XII. But by some unaccountable means the list was swelled, on its way, by the insertion of the *Lutheran* day of prayer and expiation ! Not aware, however, of this fact, and with nothing in the document to mark the real character of the day, the Pope naturally supposed it to be some peculiar local observance, and immediately approved it. Judge of the indignation felt by the Archbishop at this unworthy trick, and at finding himself commanded to enjoin the observance of a festival, hitherto emphatically and exclusively Protestant ! He had, however, no resource ; the festival must be observed ; and he, therefore, adopted the expedient of ordering the day to be kept as a day of supplication against storms and blights, and for the preservation of the fruits of the earth.

Secondly. The election of bishops is reduced to a mere mockery. A royal commissary honours the chapter with his presence, and informs it of the person whom alone the king will approve. The

understanding is distinct, that, till the party thus nominated is elected, the see will be kept vacant.

Thirdly. The bishop is in a state of absolute dependence and constraint. He receives constant orders through the High President; and cannot publish any new regulations or provisions without the revisal and approval of that officer. We are told that the late bishop of Culm, Dr. Von Mathey, was so sick of government dispatches and orders, that, for many years, he never opened one; and several drawers full of papers, thus unopened, were discovered after his death.

Fourthly. The appointment to vacant prebends is reserved by the Papal Brief, dated in 1821, and admitted by the government, to the Pope, or bishop, as the case may be. The king, however, fills them all up.

Fifthly. In fine, not to multiply examples, the interference of government goes so far, that all the minutiae of Catholic worship are subject to the control of its lay agents; nay, a Protestant councillor has to decide how much wine, and how many hosts, are to be used throughout the year, in the Catholic Church!

But of this enough. We know not our countrymen, if their indignation and their sympathy be not aroused by the unadorned statements which we have made. Will it be said that Prussia is a Protestant country, and therefore is right in procuring the ascendancy of its own religion? If so, we ask, in reply, what constitutes a Protestant country? That the reigning house be Protestant? Then, is Saxony, where the royal family is Catholic, though the subjects are Protestant, to be considered a Catholic state? Or is Belgium Protestant, because Leopold is a Lutheran? The house of Brandenburg, till 1539, was Catholic; then, till 1613, Lutheran; from that year, till 1740, reformed or Calvinistical: from 1740 to 1786, avowedly infidel, the ally of Voltaire and D'Alembert; again, till 1817, reformed, and now evangelical. And did the nation change its denomination, according to all the varieties of religious hues, through which the reigning house, however conscientiously, has passed?

But such a line of reasoning could not for a moment be maintained. Is Prussia, then, we ask, a Protestant country, because Protestantism, to use the terms of the new French charter, is "the religion of the majority (in this instance, a small majority indeed) of the nation"? As well might we say that we have a right to consider the islands of Malta or Trinidad Protestant, because they have been aggregated to a state in which the total majority is Protestant, although express stipulations have secured to them the maintenance

intact of the Catholic religion. In like manner, Westphalia, Silesia, and the Rhine, have been added to Prussia, under the most sacred pledges, that their religion was to be preserved Catholic,—and, whatever may be said of Prussia, these provinces, so long as there exists national honour, are and must be essentially Catholic. But then, even Prussia cannot be called a constitutionally Protestant country, as England is; for, the law places the three religions, the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Reformed, on a footing of perfect equality. Now, it is the law which decides this important point, and here the law is clear and undisputed.

It is, then, in defiance of law, or, if you please, of acknowledged rights, that this galling, harassing, and paltry system of persecution has been devised and carried on. Shall we be told, that persecution is too hard a name? Nay, in our estimation, it is scarcely adequate to the description of the fact. The term has, indeed, been applied to the attempt, made of old, to exterminate religion through the sufferings and the martyrdom of its professors. The foolish tyrants of ancient days knew not that religion has a life of its own, independent of that possessed or lost by any given number of its followers. They knew not the refinement, which aimed directly at her own vitality, while it left her outward members comparatively unmolested. But the tyrants of modern times are wiser in their generation. Instead of manifesting their jealousy of religion, by butchering her children, they take the readier and less revolting course, of smothering herself, like Desdemona, upon a bed of down, with the very means intended for her repose!

We know that the Catholics of Prussia feel sincere respect for the personal character of their monarch. All allow that he is just and generous; and we do not believe that he is conscious of having given pain. It is not of him, therefore, that we have ever meant to speak, in any severe animadversions which may have escaped our pen. It is that indefinite, vague, unapprehensible thing, called the Government, that we have intended to reprehend: to it must be allotted the blame, as to it must be attributed the measures.

But the title of the book before us suggests other and painful reflections:—"Materials for the Church History of the Nineteenth Century." And will it be of such materials as these, that the future historian of the Church, in this age of intellectual refinement, will compose his pages? And will such be the annals of Protestantism—of that meek and gentle Protestantism, which boasteth, that, till she came on earth, the principles and practice of religious toleration were unknown among the sons of men? After a period of three hundred years,—just the term required to

consolidate Christianity, and enable her, after trampling on the bloody fasces, to lean on the dove-topped sceptre of the empire,—shall *she* be found in every quarter of the world, still carrying on the frightful system of pushing down foes, or supplanting rivals, merely to keep herself upon her feet? Shall the gatherer of such materials, for the history of Protestantism in the nineteenth century, have to track her in Ireland riding on her pale horse, over the mud-cabins of a Catholic population, bruising limbs, and breaking hearts, and desolating homes, with the brazen hoof of her courser? Shall he, on the Continent, see her twining herself, in a cold and withering embrace, round her whom she pretends to call a sister, and this only to suck the blood from her veins, and the marrow from her bones, by codes, calculated to weary the endurance, and to waste, in hectic decay, the religious feeling of entire provinces? Or, if he cross the ocean to the islands of our antipodes, shall he find her in power over savages, whom she has civilized, but never elevated, and using that power through her emissaries, to persecute, with chains and hard labour, those who embrace the Catholic faith? And when he has seen these things, and set them, like a rich mosaic, in his storied page, shall he smile or weep, as he writes over it, “On the tolerant, unpersecuting principles of Protestantism, in the nineteenth century”!

We are not vain enough to think that these pages are likely to meet the eye of many of our fellow-religionists, in the country whereof they treat. And if they do, shall we presume to offer them counsel or consolation? Most assuredly not; while there is One, “who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks,” that saith to them, “I know your works, and your labour, and your patience; and you *have* patience, and have borne for my name, and have not failed.” They will continue, we doubt not, as heretofore, to edify the Christian world by their unwearied endurance, at the same time that they adorn their religion by the numerous instances of noble and honourably applied talents, which, in spite of their humiliation, they have continued to present to mankind. Whatever the sympathy of brethren, who have suffered even more than they, can do, to comfort and encourage them; whatever of hope the marvellous work of their liberation, through peaceful and lawful means, may afford, they certainly will ever find in the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland. Let us feel towards each other as friends and brethren, and let the bond of common suffering wind itself round the sacred links of a common faith. There is no uniter of hearts like the chain of persecution.

ART. VIII.—*Sketches of English Literature, with Considerations on the Spirit of the Times, Men, and Revolutions.* By the Visc. de Chateaubriand. 2 vols. 8vo. Colburn, London. 1836.

THIS title is, in its leading part, calculated to deceive; for though we are supplied with some Sketches of English Literature, generally very incorrect, the greater part of the work is occupied by sombre political reflections, and personal anecdotes of the author, thrown together without any order. In his preface he says:—

“This view of English Literature, which is to precede my translation of Milton, consists of

“1. Some detached pieces of my early studies, corrected in style, rectified with regard to opinions, enlarged or condensed as relates to the text.

“2. Various extracts from my Memoirs; extracts which happened to be connected directly with the Work which I here submit to the public.

“3. Recent researches relative to the subject of these volumes.

“I have visited the United States; I have lived eight years an exile in England; after residing in London as an emigrant, I have returned thither as ambassador. I believe that I am as thoroughly acquainted with English, as a man can be with a language foreign to his own.” *Preface*, p. 1.

In one of Miss Edgeworth's novels, that lady admirably sketches the character of Frank Clay, who is always talking of his own adventures, and generally opens his stories with the introduction, “When I was abroad with the Princess Orbitella.” The Princess Orbitella of Chateaubriand is his Embassy to London: he has never written a book since, in which it is not referred to, whenever he can find, or make, an opportunity for its introduction. We have it here for example, in the very first page of the first volume:—amid the closing pages of the second, we find,

“In 1822, at the time of my embassy to London, the fashionable was expected to exhibit, at the first glance, an unhappy and unhealthy man; to have an air of negligence about his person, long nails, a beard neither entire nor shaven, but as if grown for a moment unawares, and forgotten during the preoccupations of wretchedness; hair in disorder; a sublime, wild, wicked eye; lips compressed in disdain of human nature; a Byronian heart, overwhelmed with weariness and disgust of life.”—Vol. ii. p. 303.

For the sake of the contrast, we are as continually reminded of the time of “my exile in England.” His critique upon Lord Byron is marked by that memorable epoch:—

"In the earliest compositions of Lord Byron, we meet with striking imitations of the 'Minstrel.' At the period of my exile in England, Lord Byron was at the school of Harrow, a village about ten miles from London."—Vol. ii. p. 330.

In the very last page of the second volume, we have the same date:—

"When at the beginning of my life, England afforded me an asylum, I translated some of Milton's verses, to supply the wants of the exile: now, having returned to my country, drawing near to the end of my career, I again have recourse to the poet of Eden."—Vol. ii. p. 361.

The exile and the embassy haunt us from the beginning to the end of the Viscount's labours. He would find it impossible to write a treatise on the differential calculus, or to follow Ephraim Jenkison in his researches into cosmogony, without reminding us that he had been an emigrant, and an ambassador. It bursts forth on every occasion: but we shall trouble our readers with only one passage more:—

"Political eloquence may be considered as constituting part of British Literature. I have had opportunities of forming my opinion upon it at two very different periods of my life.

"The England of 1688 was, about the end of the last century, at the apogee of its glory. As a poor emigrant in London from 1792 to 1800, I listened to the speeches of the Pitts, the Foxes, the Sheridans, the Wilberforces, the Grenvilles, the Whitbreads, the Lauderdales, the Erskines: as a magnificent ambassador in 1822, I cannot express how I was struck, when, instead of the great speakers whom I had formerly admired, I saw those who had been their seconds at the time of my first visit, the scholars, rise instead of the masters."—Vol. II. p. 274.

It would not be easy to find any logical connexion between the position of the Viscount de Chateaubriand, whether as a poor emigrant, or "a magnificent ambassador," in 1822, (the date of that never to be forgotten period is always carefully noted) with the decline and fall of British oratory. Had the state of affairs been reversed, had he shone in all the lustre of diplomacy in 1792, and sought an asylum in poverty and exile, in 1822, we apprehend that, momentous as the event might seem to the Viscount, the tide of our senatorial eloquence would have ebbed and flowed as it has done, uninfluenced by any mutation of our author's fortunes.

It is, however, magnanimous in him to exalt the era of Pitt; for that statesman, it appears, was not instinctively, or rather prophetically, impressed with a sense of the future greatness of the Viscount. He actually passed him in St. James's Park without notice!

"I frequently saw Pitt walking across St. James's Park, from his own house to the palace. On his part, George III. arrived from

Windsor, after drinking beer out of a pewter pot with the farmers of the neighbourhood; he drove through the mean courts of his mean habitation, in a grey chariot—followed by a few of the Horse Guards. This was the master of the kings of Europe, as five or six merchants of the city are the masters of India. Pitt, dressed in black, with a steel-hilted sword by his side, hat under his arm, ascended, taking two or three steps at a time. In his passage, he only met with three or four emigrants, who had nothing to do: casting on us a disdainful look, he turned up his nose and his pale face, and passed on.”—Vol. II. p. 277.

This was in 1792: but mark the change:—

“In the month of June 1822, Lord Liverpool took me to dine at his country house. As we crossed Putney Heath, he showed me the small house where the son of Lord Chatham, the statesman who had had Europe in his pay, and distributed with his own hand all the treasures of the world, died in poverty.”—Vol. II. p. 278.

The “magnificent ambassador,” driving out to dine with the living prime minister of England, could afford to return the disdainful look, cast upon the poor emigrant by the dead premier, some thirty years before.

Let it not, however, be imagined that M. de Chateaubriand shines only as a diplomatist. He is also a Lord among wits, and in a comparison, which he institutes between himself and Lord Byron, fails not to draw our notice to the fact.

“Some interest will, perhaps, be felt on remarking in future—if I am destined to have any future—the coincidence presented by the two leaders of the new French and English schools, having one and the same fund of ideas, and destinies, if not manners, nearly similar: the one a peer of England, the other a peer of France; both travellers in the East, at no great distance of time from each other, but who never met. The only difference is, that the life of the English poet was not mixed up with such great events as mine.

“Lord Byron went to visit, after me, the ruins of Greece: in “Childe Harold” he seems to embellish with his own colours the descriptions of my “Travels.” At the commencement of my pilgrimage, I introduced the farewell of Sire de Joinville to his castle: Byron, in like manner, bids adieu to his Gothic habitation.”—p. 334.

The French peer certainly surpasses the British peer in one point. Lord Byron had no contemptible opinion of his own powers; but he never coolly wrote himself down as the leader of the existing school of his country. The Viscount, we see, has no such scruple.

But Byron is no favourite: on the contrary, he is to be regarded as a pilferer. After having whimsically described “The Martyrs” and “The Letter on the Campagna of Rome” as the true sources of his lordship’s inspiration, our author adds, that “the bard of Childe Harold belongs to the family of René.”

"In the 'Martyrs' Eudorus sets out from Messenia to proceed to Rome.—'Our voyage,' he says, 'was long. We saw all those promontories marked by temples or tombs. . . . We crossed the gulf of Megara. Before us was Ægina, on the right the Piræus, on the left Corinth. Those cities, of old so flourishing, exhibited only heaps of ruins. The very sailors appeared to be moved by this sight. The crowd, collected upon the deck, kept silence: each fixed his eyes steadfastly on those ruins: each perhaps drew from them in secret a consolation in his misfortunes, by reflecting how trifling are our own afflictions compared with those calamities which befal whole nations, and which had stretched before our eyes the corpses of those cities . . . My young companions had never heard of any other metamorphoses than those of Jupiter, and could not account for the ruins before their eyes: I, for my part, had already seated myself with the prophet on the ruins of desolate cities, and Babylon taught me what had happened to Corinth.'

"Now turn to the fourth canto of Lord Byron's 'Childe Harold:

'As my bark did skim
The bright blue waters with a fanning wind,
Came Megara before me, and behind
Ægina lay, Piræus on the right,
And Corinth on the left. I lay reclined
Along the prow, and saw all these unite
In ruin. . . .

The Roman saw these tombs in his own age,
These sepulchres of cities, which excite
Sad wonder, and this yet surviving page

The moral lesson bears, drawn from such pilgrimage."—pp. 334-336.

That the passages are coincident is true enough; but we hardly think that either Lord Byron or M. de Chateaubriand can claim their parentage. The Viscount hastily refers to the letter of Sulpicius to Cicero, where they will be found almost word for word; but he does not refer to the fact, that Lord Byron acknowledges the source in the lines immediately preceding those above-quoted, and cites the whole passage in a note:—

"Wandering in youth, I traced the path of him,
The Roman friend of Rome's least mortal mind,
The friend of Tully."

If his lordship had not read Sulpicius in the original, or in Dr. Middleton, he need not have gone farther than Tristram Shandy, where Mr. Shandy, the elder, quotes it with much philosophical pathos on the occasion of the death of his son Bobby.

One great question remains without a satisfactory explanation. We give it in M. de Chateaubriand's own words:—

"If it be true that 'Réné' had some influence upon the character of the single person brought forward under different names by the author of Childe Harold, Conrad, Lara, Manfred, the Giaour; if it so

happened that Lord Byron has made me live with his life; could he have had the weakness never to mention me? Am I, then, one of those fathers whom one denies when one has arrived at power? Is it possible that I can have been wholly unknown to Lord Byron, though he quotes almost all the French authors, his contemporaries? Could it be that he never heard of me, though the English journals, like the French, rang for twenty years around him with the controversy on my works, and though the 'New Times' drew a comparison between the author of the '*Génie du Christianisme*' and the author of '*Childe Harold*'?

"There is no nature, how highly favoured soever it may be, but has its susceptibilities, its distrusts: one is anxious to retain the sceptre; one has a dread of sharing it; one is irritated by comparisons. Thus another superior talent has avoided my name in a work on *literature*. Thank God! though estimating myself at my proper value, I have never laid claim to empire; as I believe in nothing but religious truth, of which liberty is a form, I have no more faith in myself than in any thing else here below. But I have never felt any necessity to keep silence when I have admired: hence it is that I proclaim my enthusiasm for Madame de Stael and for Lord Byron."—pp. 337-8.

That Lord Byron should not have read the critique of the "New Times," is an event which might justly excite the indignation of Sir John Stoddart—a reason, however, is suggested for his unjustifiable conduct.

"For the rest, a document would decide the question, were I in possession of one. On the appearance of '*Atala*,' I received a letter from Cambridge, signed 'G. Gordon, Lord Byron.' Lord Byron, at the age of fifteen, was a star that had not yet risen; thousands of letters of censure or congratulation overwhelmed me; twenty secretaries would not have been sufficient to keep pace with this immense correspondence; I was compelled therefore to throw into the fire three-fourths of these letters, and to select only such as it was most incumbent on me to return thanks for, or to defend myself against. I have some recollection, however, that I answered Lord Byron; but it is also possible that the note of the Cambridge student shared the general fate. In this case, my forced unpoliteness may have been construed into an affront by an irascible mind, and he may have punished my silence by his own. How deeply have I since regretted the loss of the glorious lines of the early youth of a great poet!"—pp. 338-9.

There is something *naïve* in the opening sentence: "for the rest [a vile Gallicism by the way] a document would decide the question, *were I in possession of one*." If a man has a document that will decide, it is clearly a decisive document; but, if he has it not, why—the matter remains as before. We regret to say, that the existence of the document, at any time, appears to us extremely dubious. In spite of all his correspondence, which must have equalled that of old Solomon in "The Stranger," the Viscount fails to observe how English noblemen sign their letters. We know

that they order these things differently in France; but we should as soon expect to see such a signature as "George Gordon, Lord Byron," as to get a letter from the hero of Waterloo, subscribed, "Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, Marquis of Douro," and so on, to the end of his Grace's voluminous titles. But supposing it correct in all particulars, this story only solves half the phenomenon—we are left in the dark as to the mysterious cause of the silence of Madame de Stael. Why did she never mention the name of the leader of the French school? It is inexplicable.

He has, however, his consolation in the general interest which he inspires all over the globe. He rivals the fame of the Wandering Jew.

"Travels!—delightful word!—it reminds me of my whole life. The Americans are pleased to consider me as the bard of their ancient forests: and Abou Gosh, the Arab, still remembers my excursion in the mountains of Judea. I opened the door of the East to Lord Byron, and to the travellers who have since me visited the Cephissus, the Jordan, and the Nile—a numerous posterity, whom I have sent to Egypt as Jacob sent thither his sons. My old and young friends have enlarged the narrow path left by my passage. M. Michaud, the last pilgrim of his crusades, has beheld the holy sepulchre; M. Lenormant has explored the tombs of Thebes, to preserve for us the language of Champollion; he has seen that liberty reviving amidst the ruins of Greece which I there saw expiring under the turban, intoxicated with fanaticism, opium, and women. My footsteps in every country have been effaced by other footsteps: it is only in the dust of Carthage that they have remained solitary, like the vestiges of a son of the desert on the snows of Canada. Even in the savannahs of Atala, the herbage has given place to cultivated crops; three high-roads now lead to the Natchez, and if Chactas were still living, he might be a deputy to the congress at Washington. Nay, more—I have received a Cherokee pamphlet, in which those savages compliment me in English, as an 'eminent writer and conductor of the public press.'"—pp. 282-3.

After this, why need he disturb his mind with any recollections of the unjust silence of Lord Byron and Madame de Stael?—Abou Gosh and the Cherokee pamphleteer are more adequate judges of fame and genius than Childe Harold or Corinne.

If we can manage it, however, we will turn from M. de Chateaubriand himself, to his opinions on our literature. It is not very easy to find them. In the first volume, about fifty pages are consumed in discussions, generally inexact, and always flimsy, on the Latin language, and the manners of the middle ages; and then we are at once introduced to a very surprising pair of English authors, Tacitus and Ossian! Tacitus is pressed into our literature on the strength of the speech of Galgacus, which the Vis-

count seems to think is substantially well reported; but, from the period of the report, a melancholy chasm occurs. "Fifteen centuries pass before we again hear of the genius of the Britons, and then how?" Aye! how, indeed? Why, in Macpherson's *Ossian*! We rather think that the interval between Tacitus and Macpherson is something more than fifteen centuries; but let that pass. We recommend the assertion to the peculiar indignation of Wales. Was the voice of the bards of Britain silent for fifteen centuries?

"Hear from thy grave, great Taliesi hear:
It breathes a sound to animate thy clay."

We devote the Viscount to the Cymrodorion, who will be the more enraged, when they find that he confounds the Danish scalds with their bards, and is under an impression, that Danish, Anglo-Saxon, and Welsh literature, may be safely confounded together.—(pp. 53-63.)

We are then entertained with dissertations on the Norman period, and the struggle between the French and English languages, derived from the most ordinary and trivial sources. Chaucer, Gower, and Barbour, are dismissed in five pages, to make room for an essay on politics. James the First of Scotland is hastily set aside to introduce that very authentic ballad, "Sir Cauline;" and to favour us with a criticism on Childe Waters, who, as well as René, is an original, it seems, of Childe Harold. Such is the Viscount's sketch of our literature from Tacitus to the House of Tudor. The introduction of the princes of that house affords a pretext for a series of rambling remarks on the Reformation. Here three or four dozen pages are devoted to Luther, whose only direct interference with English literature was his controversy with Henry VIII, in 1522, a period which Chateaubriand ought to have remarked as being exactly 300 years before his own appearance as "a magnificent ambassador in London." Hasty notices of Henry's own career as an author, of Surrey, and of Sir Thomas More, bring us to the reign of Elizabeth. One sentence is, perhaps, worth quoting, as a specimen of the information displayed in this portion of the work:—

"Within an interval of twenty-five years, at the period here referred to, prose was less successfully cultivated than poetry. It would be difficult to derive either profit or pleasure from a perusal of the writings of Wolsey, Cranmer, Habington, Drummond, and Joseph Hall, the preacher."—Vol. I. p. 221.

We can hardly look upon Wolsey or Cranmer as professed authors; but it is pleasant enough to find William Habington, the author of *Castara*, who flourished in the reign of Charles the

First, Drummond, of Hawthornden, the friend of Ben Jonson, and Bishop Hall, the satirist, who is, we suppose, the person who figures here under the title of "Joseph Hall, the preacher," described as the dull prosers of the days of Henry VIII.

Spenser is allowed three pages; and Shakspeare then appears. The Viscount is pleased to express a more favourable opinion now, than what he had formerly entertained; and yet he is not over-complimentary even as it is. Hamlet, for example, is described as

"That tragedy of maniacs, that *royal bedlam*, in which every character is either crazy or criminal, in which feigned madness is added to real madness, and in which the grave itself furnishes the stage with the skull of a fool; in that Odeon of shadows and spectres where we hear nothing but reveries, the challenge of sentinels, the screeching of the night bird, and the roaring of the sea."—Vol. I. p. 274.

The young female characters of Shakspeare,

"Are all mere girls, and, setting apart the shades of difference between the characters of daughter, mother, and wife, they all resemble each other as closely as twin sisters: nay, have the same smile, the same look, the same tone of voice. If we could forget their names, and close our eyes, we should not know which of them was speaking—their language is more elegiac than dramatic."—Vol. I. p. 280.

And we are asked,

"What are all Shakspeare's females in comparison with Esther?"

"Est-ce toi, chère Elise? O jour trois fois heureux!
Que béni soit le ciel qui te rend à mes vœux!
Toi, qui, de Benjamin comme moi descendue,
Fus de mes premiers ans la compagne assidue,
Et qui, d'un même joug souffrant l'oppression,
M'aidais à soupirer les malheurs de Sion.

* * * * *

On m'élevait alors solitaire et cachée,
Sous les yeux vigilans du sage Mardochée." &c. &c.

Vol. I. p. 284.

After quoting the remainder of this passage, as far as

——— "Venez, venez, mes filles,
Compagnes autrefois de ma captivité,
De l'antique Jacob jeune postérité,"—

The critic exclaims

"If there are any Huns, Hottentots, Hurons, Goths, Vandals, or other barbarians, insensible to the feminine modesty, the dignity, and the melody of this exquisite passage, may they be seventy times seven-fold delighted by the charms of their own native productions." Vol. I. p. 284.

That there are many beautiful passages in Esther, and in all Racine's works, it would be Hunnish and Hottentotish to deny. But we hope that we shall escape the charge of ultra barbarism, if we venture to think that we have read lines, in other languages, at least equal to this lauded speech. But why compare at all? Voltaire has well said, that the taste for making comparisons is the taste of a little mind. Racine has his own merits, without there being any necessity of bringing him into collision with Shakspeare. On the whole, the criticism of the Viscount is a mass of unmeaning verbiage, out of which it is impossible to extract a sentence worthy of the slightest notice. In his account of Shakspeare, he has gathered all the idle anecdotes, which make up the bulk of his scanty memoirs. He boldly sets him down as a butcher in his youth; is quite certain that he held horses at the playhouse door; that he was a buffoon player; that he performed Falstaff, (this discovery belongs to the Viscount himself;) that he was despised by Elizabeth and James; that Ben Jonson was his constant detractor; and so forth. He has a long lamentation over the poverty in which the poet died,—the fact being, that he possessed property equivalent to £750 a-year of our present money. He conjectures that he was lame, not of the leg, but of the hand:—the subject is somewhat obscure; but a reader of the sonnets ought to have remembered his bidding his mistress

“Talk of my lameness and I straight will halt.”—

But it is useless to pursue the task of pointing out the eternal blunders which appear in every page of a gentleman so “thoroughly acquainted with our language and literature.”

The Basilicon Doron of James the First next occupies, and at an unusual length, the pages of a literary historian who does not even mention the name of Bacon! By some strange fate, we have, in the midst of discussions on the fate of the Stuarts, a rhapsody of the Abbé de la Mennais, which our author, with very questionable taste, asks if he may not call “a detached parable from the Sermon on the Mount.”

The second volume brings us to Milton. We shall not detain our readers with this portion of the Viscount's labours, particularly as M. de Chateaubriand promises another opportunity for criticism, by presenting us with a translation of *Paradise Lost*. He possesses one main qualification for a translator, a warm enthusiasm for his author; but we doubt whether he has either the knowledge or the vigour requisite for the task. At all events, however, he cannot “do it into French” more tamely than Delille.—By the way, is it not somewhat amusing, to find him, in the midst of his zeal for Milton, pausing to quote a forgotten

speech of his own, delivered in the Chamber of Peers, some ten years ago, on the liberation of Greece?

Comparisons between the French and English revolutions, between Cromwell and Buonaparte, between the Puritans and the Jacobins, including a special chapter upon Danton, and a long account of the escape of Charles II, after the battle of Worcester, immediately succeed. As may be expected, the hero of the work is not forgotten. The mention of Lovelace and his captivity introduces an anecdote of Chateaubriand.

"Without being young and handsome, like Colonel Lovelace, I have been, like him, incarcerated. The governments which ruled France from 1800 to 1830 had exercised some forbearance towards a votary of the muses; Bonaparte, whom I had fiercely attacked in the *Mercure*, was at first prompted to despatch me; he raised his sword, but he struck not.

"A generous and liberal administration, exclusively composed of literary men, of poets, writers, editors of newspapers, has proved less ceremonious towards an old comrade.

"My kennel, somewhat longer than it was broad, was seven or eight feet high. The stained and bare wainscot was covered with the poetry and prose scrawled upon it by my predecessors. A pallet with soiled sheets occupied three parts of my habitation; a board supported by two trestles, placed against the wall at an elevation of two feet above the bed, served the purpose of a press for the linen, boots, and shoes of the prisoner. A chair, a table, and a small cask, as a disgusting convenience, formed the remainder of the furniture. A grated window opened at a considerable height; I was forced to mount upon the table in order to breathe fresh air, and to enjoy the light of heaven. I could only distinguish, through the bars of my felon's cage, a gloomy narrow court, and dark buildings, round which the bats kept fluttering. I heard the clank of keys and chains, the noise of the *sergens de ville* and spies, the pacing of soldiers, the ground of arms, the shrieks, the laughter, the obscene licentious songs of the prisoners, my neighbours; the howlings of Benoit, condemned to death as the murderer of his mother, and of his obscene friend. I could distinguish these words of Benoit, amidst his confused exclamations of fear and repentance: 'Alas! my mother! my poor mother!' I beheld the wrong side of society, the sons of humanity, the hideous machinery, which sets in motion this world, so smiling to look at in front, when the curtain is raised.

"The genius of my former greatness and of my *glory*, represented by a life of thirty years, did not make its appearance before me; but my Muse of former days, poor and humble as she was, came all radiant to embrace me through my window; she was delighted with my abode, and full of inspiration; she found me again as she had seen me in London, in the days of my poverty, when the first dreams of René were floating in my mind. What were we, the solitary of Pindus and I, about to produce together? A song, in the style of Lovelace. Upon whom? Upon a king? Assuredly not! The voice of a

prisoner would have been of bad omen : it is only from the foot of our altars that hymns should be addressed to misfortune. None, moreover, but a poet of great renown can be listened to when he sings :

' O toi, de ma pitié profonde
Reçois l'hommage solennel.
Humble objet des regards du monde,
Privé du regard paternel !
Puisse tu, né dans la souffrance,
Et de ta mère et de la France
Consoler la longue douleur ! ' *

" My song was not therefore of a crown fallen from an innocent brow ; I was content with celebrating a different crown—a white one, too, laid on the coffin of a young maiden. †

' Tu dors, pauvre Elisa, si légère d'années !
Tu ne sens plus du jour le poids et la chaleur :
Vous avez achevé vos fraîches matinées,
Jeune fille et jeune fleur ! ' *

" The prefect of police, with whose behaviour I have every reason to be satisfied, offered me a more suitable asylum, as soon as he was made acquainted with the agreeable abode which the friends of the liberty of the press had considerably assigned to me, for having availed myself of that liberty. The window of my new dwelling opened upon a cheerful garden. It was not enlivened by the warbling of Lovelace's linnets ; but it abounded in frisky, light, chirping, bold, quarrelsome sparrows : they are found everywhere,—in the country, in town, on the balustrades of a mansion, along the gutters of a prison ; they perch quite as cheerfully upon the instruments of death as upon a rose bush. What matter the sufferings of earth to those who can fly away further.

" My song will not be more lasting than that of Lovelace. The Jacobites have left nothing to England but the anthem *God save the King*. The origin of this air is not uninteresting : it is ascribed to Lulli ; the young maids, in the choruses to *Esther*, delighted, at St. Cyr, the ears and the pride of the great monarch by the strains of the *Domine salvum fac regem*. The attendants of James carried to their country the majestic invocation : they addressed it to the God of armies, when they marched to battle in defence of their banished sovereign. Struck with the beauty of this loyal song, the English of William's faction appropriated it to themselves. It became an appendage to the usurpation and to the sovereignty of the people, who are ignorant at this day, that they are singing a foreign air, the hymn of the Stuarts, the canticle of divine right and of legitimacy. How long will England yet implore the Ruler of the world to *save the king* ? Reckon the revolutions heaped up in a dozen notes, which have outlived these revolutions !

" The *Domine salvum* of the Catholic rite is, likewise, an admirable song : it was sung in Greek in the tenth century, when the hippodrome was graced with the emperor's presence. From the pageant it was transferred to the church : another era that has passed away."—Vol. ii. pp. 190-4.

* V. Hugo, *Odes et Ballades*.

† Elisa Trisel.

The history of our literature, from the restoration, occupies no great quantity of space, and the criticisms which it embodies, are certainly of the most trifling description. Some odd mistakes occur, such as placing Denham and Otway among the writers subsequent to the accession of the House of Hanover, ascribing to Francis the authorship of the "Art of Poetry," which he translated from Horace, and making the first Earl of Shaftesbury a licentious poet:—but it is hard to avoid some slips in writing on foreign literature, and especially when we have to deal with writers so careless of every thing but effect. The arrangements of our dramatic authors is diverting enough, to deserve to be extracted.

"Shirley, Davenant, Otway, Congreve, Farquhar, Cibber, Steele, Colman, Foote, Rowe, Addison, Moore, Aaron Hill, Sheridan, Coleridge, &c., exhibit the succession of English dramatic poets up to the present day. Tobin, Joanna Baillie, and a few others have attempted to revive the old style, and the old theatrical forms."—Vol ii. p. 201.

M de Chateaubriand is unquestionably a man of talent, but he sadly over-rates himself. He wants exactness and critical reading for the fit execution of such a work as that which we have been reviewing. Even when, instead of passing opinions on the literary history of others, he enters the walks of literature as an author, not a critic, his style is disfigured by that species of pseudo-eloquence which his countrymen call *phebus*; while his ideas are for ever clouded, for ever rendered uncertain and indistinct, by the mystic and mouthing enthusiasm in which they are clothed. Vanity is his besetting sin. If he would allow us to forget the magnificence of his embassy to London, in 1822, after having formerly appeared there as a poor emigrant, we should look upon him with more partial eyes.—But we suppose that is impossible.

NOTE.—We find the following in p. 208, vol. ii.—He has been speaking of the calamities to which so many men of letters have been subjected.

"In the cloisters of the Cathedral of Worcester, the stranger's notice is attracted by a sepulchral slab, without date, without a prayer, without a symbol; its only inscription is the word *Miserrimus*. Could this unknown, this nameless *Miserrimus* have been any other than a man of genius?"—Vol. ii, p. 208.

We have understood that this *Miserrimus* was a clergyman of the parish, who had been involved in perpetual legal quarrels with his parishioners, that rendered him, in his own opinion, at least, the most miserable of mankind. We do not vouch for the authenticity of the story. A melo-dramatic romance has been suggested to Mr. F. M. Reynolds by this tombstone. His book is called "*Miserrimus*." It is now forgotten, but we may be sure that it was there M. de Chateaubriand found the story.

- ART. IX.—1. *The Edinburgh Review on Absenteeism*. (No. 85, Nov. 1825.)
 2. *Evidence of J. R. M'Culloch, Esq. before the Committee of 1830, on the State of the Irish Poor*. (Third Report of Evidence, ordered to be printed, July 16,

“**A**BSENTEE,” is a term which appears to have derived its origin from the anomalies of Ireland. Johnson says it is “a word used commonly with regard to Irishmen living out of their country;” and he quotes a passage from Sir John Davis, on Ireland, in which reference is made to a statute passed against absentees in the third year of Richard the Second. He also quotes a sentence from Child’s Discourse on Trade, in which it is asserted, that “a great part of estates in Ireland are owned by *absentees*, and such as draw over the profits raised out of Ireland, refunding nothing.”

The foundation of the absenteeism, which is so peculiar to Ireland, was laid in the earliest times of the British connection. Sir John Davis, after noticing that “the kings of England, who, in former ages, attempted the conquest of Ireland, being ill-advised and counselled by the great men here, did not, upon the submissions of the Irish, communicate their laws unto them, nor admit them to the state and condition of free subjects,” says, that “the next error in the civil polity, which hindered the perfection of the conquest of Ireland, did consist in the distribution of the lands and possessions, which were won and conquered from the Irish. For the scopes of land, which were granted to the first adventurers, were too large; and the liberties and royalties, which they obtained therein, were too great for subjects.” He specifies the grants to Strongbow, Robert Fitz-Stephen, Miles Cogan, Philip le Bruce, Hugh de Lacy, John de Courcy, William Burke Fitz-Adelm, Thomas de Clare, Otho de Grandison, and Robert le Poer; and adds, “thus was all Ireland cantonized among ten persons of the English nation; and though they had not gained the possession of one-third part of the whole kingdom, yet in title they were owners and lords of all, so as nothing was left to be granted to the natives.”

The effects of this “error” were most perceptibly felt in the reign of Henry the Third:

“All writers,” continues Davis, “do impute the decay and loss of Leinster to the absence of the English Lords, who married the five daughters of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke (to whom that great seignory descended), when his five sons, who inherited the same successively, and, during their times, held the same in peace and obedience to the law of England, were all dead, without issue, which happened about

the fortieth year of King Henry the Third : for the eldest being married to Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, who, in right of his wife, had the Marshalship of England; the second to Warren de Mountchensey, whose sole daughter and heir was matched to William de Valentia, half brother to King Henry the Third, who by that match was made Earl of Pembroke; the third to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester; the fourth to William de Ferrers, Earl of Darby; the fifth to William de Bruce, Lord of Brecknock : These great lords, having greater inheritances, in their own right, in England, than they had in Ireland, in right of their wives, (and yet each of the co-partners had an entire county allotted for her purparty, as is before declared), could not be drawn to make their personal residence in this kingdom, but managed their estates here by their seneschals and servants. And again, the decay and loss of Ulster and Connaught is attributed to this; that the Lord William Burke, the last Earl of that name, died without issue male; whose ancestors, namely, the Red Earl, and Sir Hugh de Lacy before him, being personally resident, held up their greatness there, and kept the English in peace and the Irish in awe; but when those provinces descended upon an heir female and an infant, the Irish overran Ulster, and the younger branches of the Burkes usurped Connaught. And, therefore, the ordinance made in England, the third of Richard the Second, against such as were absent from their lands in Ireland, and gave two-third parts of the profits thereof unto the king, until they returned, or placed a sufficient number of men to defend the same, was grounded upon good reason of state: which ordinance was put in execution for many years after, as appeareth by sundry seizures made thereupon in the time of King Richard the Second, Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., whereof there remain records in the Remembrancer's office here. Among the rest, the Duke of Norfolk himself was not spared; but was impleaded upon this ordinance for two parts of the profits of Dorbury's Island, and other lands in the county of Wexford, in the time of Henry VI. And afterwards, upon the same reason of state, all the lands of the House of Norfolk, of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Berkeley, and others, who, having lands in Ireland, kept their continual residence in England, were entirely resumed by the act of absentees, made in the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII."

The policy adopted with regard to the "first adventurers," influenced the English government, whenever there was an opportunity, in all subsequent times. Upon the accession of Edward the Sixth, the territories of O'Moor, Prince of Leix (King's county), and O'Connor, Prince of Offaly (Queen's county), were seized, and distributed according to pristine usage. In Elizabeth's time, the same occurred, but on a far more extended scale. One or two samples of the pretexts, on which "scopes of land," forming no inconsiderable portion of the entire island, were thus disposed of, are worth mentioning. Con O'Neill, to whom the principality of Ulster belonged, had two sons,—Shane, who was legitimate, and Matthew, who was born out of wedlock.

A contention arose between the sons, on the death of the chieftain, as to the right of successorship. The English government interfered, and ruled the point in favour of Matthew, "practising," says Parnell (*Apology*, p. 58), "a policy that has governed them in the latest times in India, where it has been the custom to raise to the throne, in violation of the customary mode of succession, a person who depended for his station on their power, who was strictly a dependent, and who might be set aside whenever a favourable opportunity occurred." Matthew was proclaimed the lawful heir. The consequence was a rebellion on the part of Shane—a declaration of war against him—a conquering of his forces—and the confiscation of the whole possessions, both of Shane and Matthew. "In order," adds Mr. Parnell, "to divert Shane, the territory was reputed Matthew's; and in order to get rid of Matthew's claim, the territory was confiscated as Shane's." M'Mahon, Prince of Monaghan, surrendered his country to Elizabeth, and received a grant of it, with remainder, in default of issue, to his brother Hugh. He died without offspring, and Hugh took possession. "The Lord Deputy, Fitzwilliam, proceeded to Monaghan, under pretence of giving M'Mahon security in his possession. But as soon as he arrived there, he raised an accusation against M'Mahon, for having, two years before, recovered some rent due to him, by force of arms. This, by the law of the English pale, was treason; but M'Mahon had never stipulated to be subject to the English law: on the contrary, the patents by which their territories were regranted to the Irish princes, either formally acknowledged the validity of the Irish Brehon law, or tolerated it by a silence equally expressive. The unhappy M'Mahon, for an offence committed, before the law, which declared it capital, was established in his country, was tried, condemned by a jury formed of private soldiers, and executed in two days, to the horror and consternation of his subjects, and the rest of the Irish chieftains. His territory was distributed to Sir H. Bagnall, and other English adventurers. Four only of the sept saved their property." The present Marquis of Bath, and Mr. Shirley, are, we believe, descendants of these adventurers. Mr. Shirley holds 33,000 acres, according to Wakefield; and the estates of the noble Marquis are, we learn, equally extensive. The Marquis of Bath, we have heard, was never in Ireland; and Mr. Shirley, for a short time only, on one or two electioneering occasions. The estates of both had, in Mr. Wakefield's time, the true characteristics of absentee property: they exhibited (v. i. p. 269.) "wretched cultivation, fields without hedge-rows, and inclosed only by earthen banks or dykes; land running to waste, which, with great truth, may be compared

to its inhabitants,—that is, losing its strength for want of proper nourishment, and existing in a state of the utmost poverty.”

The confiscations of the reign of James the First, did much to extend absenteeism, though some of the natives were then, for the first time, included in the list of the new proprietors. The possessions of the London companies alone, extend to the fee-simple of nearly an entire county. The confiscations of Charles the Second's and William the Third's reign, bestowed their Irish estates upon the ancestors of a number of persons now amongst the permanent absentees. And here may be noted the consequences, to the natives of Ireland, of their “loyalty.” They were true to their legitimate sovereign, Charles the First, and the penalty was, confiscations to the amount of nearly two-thirds of the whole island. They were true to their legitimate sovereign, James the Second, and the penalty was, confiscations to the amount of a twelfth of the whole island. The Restoration, which the authors of the Protestant Liturgy have not scrupled to call “blessed,” was a triumph to their principles. Yet it brought nothing to them but the injuries and insults of a confirmed proscription. The circumstance, that Ireland is a country, subordinate to one more opulent and improved, would in itself be a source of considerable absenteeism, if no other cause operated. “The people,” says Adam Smith, “who possess the most extensive property in the dependent, will generally chuse to live in the governing country.”

We have already referred, in the words of Sir John Davis, to some of the legislative expedients, which were adopted in several reigns, up to the 28th of Henry the Eighth, for the repression of absenteeism. An act, passed in the 10th of Charles the First, declares, that “the King and his progenitors, out of their princely wisdom, had thought proper to confer upon several able, worthy, and well-deserving persons, inhabitants dwelling in England, and elsewhere out of the kingdom of Ireland, titles of honour, whereby they do enjoy place and precedence, according to their titles respectively; so that it cannot be denied but that, in a just way of retribution, they ought to contribute to all public charges and payments, taxed by Parliament in that kingdom from whence the titles of their honours are derived, and whereunto others of their rank there resident are liable.” It is therefore enacted, that—

“All and every person or persons, now being, or which shall hereafter be, an Earl, Viscount, or Baron of that kingdom, and have place and voice in the Parliament of that realm, though resident or dwelling in England, or elsewhere, shall be liable to all public payments and charges, which shall be taxed and assessed in this or any other Par-

liament, and shall, from time to time, contribute thereunto, and pay their rateable parts thereof, in such manner and form as others of their rank are liable unto, or shall pay."

There is evidence even of the operation of a principle of "*appropriation*," in reference to this evil, in ancient times. We find that a statute, (the 36th of Henry the Sixth, c. 1) reciting, that "divers persons, advanced to benefices within the land of Ireland, do absent them out of the said land in other lands, whereby the issues and profits of their said benefices be yearly taken forth of the said land of Ireland, to the great impoverishment and weakening of the same, diminishing of God's service, and withdrawing of hospitality," enacts, that—

"All manner benefices within the said land, of whatsoever condition that they be, shall keep residence continually, in their proper persons, in the said land within twelve months, after the said Parliament finished, and otherwise, the issues and profits of the said benefices (divine service and ordinary charges kept) shall be divided, the half to the commodity and profit of their benefices and churches, the other half to be expended *in our sovereign lord the King's wars, in defence of this poor land of Ireland*,—and any grants of abseney made by the King to them, or any of them, or to be made and granted in time coming, to the contrary hereof, to be void, and of no force in law, unless that it be by authority of Parliament."

In 1715, an act was passed, whereby persons who had any salaries, profits of employments, fees, or pensions, in Ireland, should pay unto his Majesty, four shillings out of every twenty shillings yearly, which they were entitled unto, unless such persons should reside within the kingdom for six months in every year. The tax, thus imposed, was to be deducted yearly out of the several salaries, profits, and fees, by the persons who paid the same; the whole was to be then paid over to the vice-treasurers, to be accounted for to his Majesty; and the deputies of the parties were to give in, on oath, an account of the net profit of the employments, on pain of being incapacitated to execute such deputation in future, and of forfeiting one hundred pounds. The Secretary to the Commissioners of the Revenue, the agents of regiments, and agents of persons entitled to receive salaries or pensions, were, on pain of being disabled to hold their respective offices, to deliver in, on oath, a list of the officers of the revenue, of the officers of regiments above the degree of a field officer, and of the persons entitled to receive salaries or pensions, who should be out of the kingdom for six months. There was a saving for the Lord Lieutenant, Chief Secretary, and such persons as should be exempted by his Majesty's sign manual; as also for officers of regiments ordered abroad, half-pay officers,

widows of officers, and officers under the degree of a field officer. This tax was continued by several acts, until 1753, when, it appearing that the crown exercised the dispensing power, in instances so numerous as to render the tax nugatory, it was suffered to expire.

In 1773, Mr. Flood, then a member of the government, endeavoured to carry a more general measure, one affecting all descriptions of income, rents, profits, &c., upon which he proposed to impose a tax of two shillings in the pound. The proposition had, in the beginning, the declared support of the then Lord Lieutenant (Earl Harcourt); but that nobleman's countenance was afterwards withdrawn, in consequence, it was suspected, of private remonstrances from England. In the House of Commons, it had to encounter a two-fold hostility—opposition proceeding from the friends and retainers of five great Lords, upon whom the tax would press most heavily, and opposition proceeding from disinterested men, who feared that, as the project was one introduced by a member of the government, it was only a prelude to a land tax, or some other measure, which, in their estimation, would be equally burdensome and pernicious in its general effects. Mr. Flood combated the arguments of the latter class of his opponents, by contending, that they rested upon no principle more fair or rational, than that which governs those, who think it safe to be always incredulous, when anything *good* is offered to their belief. "Their objection," said he, "amounts to this—that the favour of having such a law is too great to be expected, without some evil design in those who propose it. Whatever weight is to be attached to their conjectures, as to ulterior objects, they are, at all events, compelled to admit, that there *is* something beneficial in what is recommended; and thus, from the terms of their own arguments, do we draw matter commendatory of the measure which they assail. I would entreat these gentlemen, if they really see anything good in the proposed law, to suffer the country to have its benefits, and wait until time enables them to form a less erroneous judgment of those remote contingencies, with which they perplex their imaginations, than they can possibly do at present. The government may have sinister motives for what they propose; but if we are resolved *never* to receive any benefit from government, lest it should be introductive of injury, then we must sit down, contented to receive nothing but evil from it." The five "great Lords" alluded to, were the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Besborough, Lord Milton, and Lord Upper Ossory. In reference to the partizans of these individuals, Mr. Flood said—"I am amazed that gentlemen can be so incon-

siderate as to agree to tax three millions of the useful and industrious natives of Ireland, rather than *five great men, who are its bane.*" Addressing himself, again, to the ungrounded prejudices and apprehensions of the more numerous and powerful party, who acted from a suspicion that the ministry were governed by sinister views, he proceeded:—"The whole rents of Ireland do not exceed four millions, of which upwards of six hundred thousand pounds are drawn hence, every year, by absentee landlords. In what can all this be supposed to end, but absolute ruin? I call upon gentlemen to consider this. I call upon them, in the name of the genius of their almost exhausted country; I call upon them in the name of Truth, that awful Deity to whom I devote what now I say, to reflect on the weakness, the absurdity, and the awful consequences of opposing an act, which we ever wished for, when not in our power to obtain, and now, through an unjust and ill-timed suspicion, reject when it is in our power." Mr. Flood's efforts were unavailing, but not signally so; for, on a division, there was a majority of only 122 to 102.

At the distance of ten years, Mr. Molyneux again agitated the long-debated subject, with results, however, much more disheartening; for his proposition was negatived by a majority of 172. The last time the question was debated, in the Irish Parliament, was on the eve of the rebellion. Government wanted to raise a sum of £150,000, and Mr. Vandeleur recommended that it should be levied upon absentee estates. There was no discussion as to principle. It was not contended, in any quarter, that there would be anything unjust or inequitable in making those, who "draw over the profits raised in Ireland, refunding nothing," contribute a little to the defence and protection, at least, of their own possessions. But the necessity for the money was pressing. It was wanted directly, and, as an absentee tax would not be available until the end of a year, the proposition of Mr. Vandeleur was rejected, but on this ground only.

We have thus given a sketch of the legislative efforts, made in the Irish Parliament, from the most remote times to the eve of its extinction, to remedy the evil of absenteeism. "We cannot," said Adam Smith, "wonder that the proposal of an absentee tax should be so very popular in Ireland." That it was always popular is abundantly evident; but that it should have been so, on the ground of the practical mischiefs resulting from absenteeism, is a point which remains to be investigated.

We need not inform our readers, that, in recent times, the opinion has been pertinaciously maintained, that absenteeism does no mischief to any country. Mr. M'Culloch is the most conspicuous advocate of this new doctrine. Before the Commit-

tee, appointed in 1825 to investigate the state of Ireland, he broadly asserted, that the Irish proprietor, resident in London or Paris, was in as good a position to encourage the industry of his country, as if he fixed his abode in Dublin or Cork. He delivered himself to the same effect, without modification, before the Committee of 1830, though, on the subject of Poor Laws, he admitted that his mind had undergone a considerable change. He is supposed to be the author of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, in which his dogmas on the subject are elaborately defended. This article comprises all that is to be said on his side of the question, and we shall, therefore, examine it with some minuteness.

The reviewer notices, that the absentee remittances are usually estimated at three and a half millions. He thinks they do not amount to so much, though many well-informed persons suppose them to be, at least, half a million more; but assuming the estimate to be accurate, he says :

"The primary question is—how are these rents remitted to them? Now as there is very little specie in Ireland, and as Irish bank notes do not circulate in England, it is obvious that they can be remitted in one way only, and that is, by sending abroad an equivalent amount of the *raw produce*, or *manufactures* of the country. Were all the absentees to return to Ireland, there would, no doubt, be an increased demand for commodities, or labour, or both, in the home market, to the extent of three or three and a half millions; but it is undeniably certain, that *this increase of demand in the home market* would be balanced by a precisely equal *diminution of demand in the foreign market*; and unless it can be shown that foreign merchants trade for smaller profits than the home merchants, we must be satisfied, on the first blush of the matter, that the expenditure of those landlords who reside in London or Paris, it is no matter which, has just as great an effect in vivifying and animating industry in Ireland, as if they resided in Dublin or Cork."

The "primary question" is easily answered. The rents are remitted in cash, to obtain which there are more facilities than the reviewer imagines. There is no deficiency even of specie; on the contrary, it is redundant, and, therefore, the Bank of Ireland finds it necessary to make periodical shipments of it to Liverpool.

If "Irish notes do not circulate in England," a bank order, or English notes, can be obtained at a small cost in Dublin. The process of the payment of absentee rents is just this: the small dealers send their commodities to the next fair, or market, where they are bought *for cash* by larger dealers, who, by themselves or their factors, are the ultimate exporters. The *cash* is handed to the agent on the gale day, in notes and specie. For these he

gets an order on Dublin at a branch bank, or he himself is the bearer of his gathering to the metropolis. He knows nothing of the "equivalent sent abroad in raw produce or manufactures;" he sees, and is concerned with nothing but *money*. That is, undoubtedly, the representative of the produce sent "abroad." But the question offering itself to our consideration is, what the non-residence of the individual, to whom the money is to be transmitted, has to do with the sending abroad of the produce? The proposition of the reviewer is nothing less, than that there would be no shipment of the produce if the proprietor were at home. This will easily be tested, if we suppose that the money is, in the first instance, paid to the proprietor himself, living in the midst of his tenantry. In that case, would there be no shipment? Undoubtedly there would, and the same shipment, in manner and form, that would take place, if the proprietor were permanently settled in London or Paris.

The reviewer proceeds—

"The agent of an absentee landlord, after receiving the rents of his tenants, say £10,000, purchases a bill of exchange for this £10,000 from an Irish merchant. But the merchant, in order to supply his correspondent in London, Liverpool, or Amsterdam, on whom the bill is drawn, with funds to pay it, *must*, for it is not in any respect optional with him, go into the Irish market, and buy £10,000 worth of the raw products or manufactured goods of the country, and send them abroad to his correspondent. Where, then, (he asks) is the difference to Ireland, in so far as the demand for commodities is concerned, whether the landlord is or is not resident? When he is resident he will receive £10,000 from his tenants, and he will go to market and buy an equal amount of *Irish corn, beef, hats, shoes, &c.*; and when he is not resident, a merchant gets the £10,000, and lays out every sixpence of them in the purchase of Irish commodities, *just as the landlord did when he was at home*. Turn it and twist it as you please, you will find, on analysing any case that can possibly be presented, that this is *the whole* difference, in so far as expenditure is concerned, between a resident and a non-resident landlord. The one exchanges his revenue for Irish commodities, which he imports into his house in Dublin, and consumes there; the other, also, through the merchant who furnishes him with bills, exchanges his for Irish commodities, which, or the equivalents for which, he imports into, and consumes, in his house in London or Paris; and therefore, unless it can be proved that the mere local act of consumption is advantageous, we must acknowledge, that the consumption of that portion of the annual revenue of a nation, which is sent abroad to absentees, contributes as much to the general advantage as the consumption of any other portion of income. It is never, in short, by sending abroad *revenue*, but by sending abroad the *capital*, by whose agency revenue is produced, that nations are impoverished and ruined."

If what is assumed here were true, the case would be proved

If the agent were to purchase, with the £10,000, the corn, beef, hats, shoes, &c. "just as the landlord did when he was at home," there would be no reason to complain, on the score, at least, of employment. But, as far as the individual is concerned, the agent purchases little of corn and beef, and no hats or shoes at all. There is some exportation of corn and beef. Let the reviewer, if it please him, imagine that it is materially influenced by the existence of absentee establishments in England. But hats and shoes are not articles of Irish exportation. They can be manufactured in Ireland, and would, no doubt, be used by the absentee, if he became a resident. He, of course, prefers to go to the next shop or market. This is in his own immediate neighbourhood. It is supplied, not with Irish, but English goods, and in this lies the grievance to Ireland of Absenteeism.—The reviewer speaks of the "mere act of local consumption," as if its benefits were to be questioned. There can be no doubt at all of its advantages. It is far from being the same to the hands employed at Carton,* whether the produce be consumed in Kildare or London. There is no menial of a great man who does not dislike to be left behind upon board wages. The reviewer continues—

"Let it be supposed, which however is most certainly not the case, that the exports from Ireland are *not* augmented in consequence of remittances on account of absentees; it is, on this hypothesis, clear to demonstration, that the *imports*, that would otherwise take place, of English and foreign produce into Ireland, must be diminished by the whole amount of the bills drawn in favour of the absentees; for, it would follow, were this not the case, that they must now be subsisted either on charity or on the air! If then the absentees were to return home, and the same amount of Irish produce to continue to be exported, all the English and foreign commodities, on which the absentees had subsisted when abroad, would henceforth be *imported* into Ireland; and there could not, under such circumstances, be any increased demand, in consequence of their return, for the smallest additional quantity of Irish produce."

The English and foreign commodities, on which the absentee proprietor had subsisted when abroad, would *not* be imported into Ireland in the way, or to the extent, which is supposed. Foreign commodities he certainly would have, but they would pass to him through twenty Irish, instead of English hands. He would find it necessary or useful to purchase English commodities, but they would not, in number or value, amount to any thing in comparison with what he would use, if he were resident in England. Hats, shoes, and an endless variety of articles, would be taken by the employer or his dependents, from Irish artizans. Whatever a proprietor's prepossessions might be,

* The seat of the Duke of Leinster, near Dublin.

he could not, on every occasion, send for an English labourer, painter, glazier, smith, or carpenter. But the reviewer asks—

“Suppose the rental of Lord Hertford’s Irish property to amount to £100,000 a year, is it not a matter of consummate indifference to Ireland whether his Lordship consumes annually £100,000 worth of Irish commodities in his seat in Ireland, or has an *equivalent amount* of them sent to a London merchant on his account?”

In a mercantile view of the question it might be matter of “consummate indifference,” if his lordship *did* actually consume £100,000 worth of Irish commodities: but how is it certain that he consumes even £10,000 worth, or one pennyworth in the year? If the payment were in *kind*, there would be no doubt about the matter; but it is not in kind, it is in money; and how can we be certain, we ask, when the noble marquis has his rents in money, that one shilling of them is expended in the purchase of Irish commodities? The reviewer assumes that they must be expended in the purchase of Irish commodities, and for no better reason, than that the rents come out of the commodities, and the commodities are sold in England. Is it because Lord Hertford lives in London, or elsewhere out of Ireland, that the Irish commodities are sold in England? Do the manufacturers in Lancashire buy Irish beef and pork, that his lordship may have his rents? Would they not buy Irish beef and pork if no such individual ever existed? Why do the Irish buy English commodities, French commodities, Chinese commodities? Is it because there are absentees to be helped to their rents in Dublin, Cork, or Limerick?

There seems a strange contradiction in an argument, used by the reviewer, to prove, that absentee remittances, and a tribute to a foreign power, are not similar in their effects. He says, the absentee must return to Ireland if his remittances cease; but, if the tribute were to cease, there would be no one to return, and “there would, in consequence, be so much additional wealth left in the country.” The money that ceases to be sent to a foreign power is so much additional wealth left in the pockets of the people. When the power has it, the people suffer; when it is left amongst them, it is “so much wealth in their pockets.” But when the absentee is the party, to whom it is to be remitted, the case is quite different! If the absentee be not a foreign power, he may be in a foreign country. This very Lord Hertford spends most of his time in Rome or Naples. What difference does it make to his Irish tenants whether their money goes into his pockets, or those of the Pope, or of the King of the two

Sicilies! The three parties, Lord Hertford being beyond the Alps, would appear to be equal consumers of Irish commodities.

"Suppose 1,000 quarters of wheat are exported from Ireland to Liverpool, on account of an absentee; if this absentee returns home, this exportation will of course cease—but what will Ireland gain by its cessation?"

We have had occasion already to quote this passage.* We have only to repeat, that no wheat is exported to Liverpool "on account of an absentee;" and that, therefore, the exportation would not cease on his return home. Lord Cloncurry, since he became a Peer of Parliament, spends half the year in London, and half of it in the neighbourhood of Dublin. A thousand quarters of wheat, grown on his estates, are, most probably, shipped to Liverpool during his absence; and, out of the produce, rent is paid to his steward. But the same operation takes place when he is at home. Presence or absence does not affect the shipment of the wheat; but the case is different as to the spending of the greater portion of the money which it yields. During absence, London has its advantages,—during presence, the possession is transferred to Dublin.

The reviewer admits, that the notions which prevail with respect to the injurious effects of absentee expenditure, appear, on a superficial view, natural and well founded. He says—

"When a wealthy landlord resides on his estate, there is generally, in some contiguous village, a number of little tradesmen and manufacturers who work on his account, but who, it is alleged, will be thrown altogether out of employment, and left entirely destitute, in the event of his removing to another country. This opinion, however, is founded entirely on a misapprehension of the nature of profits. Those who raise an outcry against absenteeism, take for granted that all retail dealers, tradesmen, and manufacturers, live at the expense of those who employ them, or who buy their products. It is certain, however, that they do no such thing—that they live by means of their own capital and industry, and that these would support them, *though their customers were annihilated.*"

It must be admitted that there is some novelty in this doctrine. A shoemaker, it seems, can live though he has no customers to buy his shoes! It is, to be sure, subsequently explained, that a man, who cannot earn his bread by manufacturing shoes, may employ his capital and industry in "*some other way.*" He is at liberty, no doubt, to turn from shoe-making to digging; but, at his new avocation, he is not in his natural or most advantageous position; and he may (and he surely would, in Ireland) find such

* Dublin Review, July 1836, p. 291.

a superabundance of competitors, as would place him in danger again of suffering the hardship which overtook him when his "customers were annihilated." We would save him from such a calamity, by leaving him, with the aid of a resident gentry, at shoe-making. We have twice too many delvers, as it is; and we can do no service to society by diminishing the number of our artizans.

The reviewer concedes, that "Bath and London are benefitted, though in a very small degree, by the residence of Irish absentees;" but he denies that "Ireland loses what they gain, or that she, in fact, loses anything by their non-residence." What are the benefits conferred on London or Bath? They are indicated in another sentence, in which the writer alludes to an English shop, or an order given to an English tradesman. But are there no shops or tradesmen in our own Irish towns? Lord Cloncurry, when not an absentee, buys very good mercery in Dame-street, and capital boots in another part of Dublin. The material, in both instances, most probably comes from England, but the mercer is assisted, by his Lordship's custom, in paying his shopmen and servants, and maintaining his family. The reviewer might find some person inclined to adopt his theory on this head, if he employed a little ingenious sophistry, to show that London and Bath are *not* gainers by Irish absentees. But when he admits the gain to the shopkeepers and tradesmen of those places, he necessarily declares the suffering to the shopkeepers and tradesmen of Dublin.

"Suppose that an Irish gentleman, resident in Dublin, pays an account of £300 or £400 a-year to his coach and harness-makers.—If this gentleman comes to London, he will have a similar account to pay to the coach and harness-makers of that city. But then, it must be kept in view, that the £300 or £400 that were, in the first instance, paid to the coach and harness-makers of Dublin, must now be paid to the linen manufacturers of Ireland, or to the producers of those articles that suit the English market. And they must assuredly have rather antiquated notions of national advantage, who presume to contend that it is as much for the interest of Ireland to employ her capital and labour in the production of articles in which England has a decided advantage over her, as it is to employ them in the production of those in which she has a decided advantage over England! A century ago, an argument, if we may so miscall it, of this sort, might have worn an imposing aspect.—But we should have thought, had not their late outcry convinced us of the contrary, that even the Dublin patriots and paragraph writers would have been inclined to listen to it at present with some misgivings."

The point urged here is remarkably favourable to the development of the errors of the reviewer's whole theory on this

subject. There is nothing in it of the entanglement which seems, on a hasty view, to connect itself with the proposition regarding the 1000 quarters of corn sent to Liverpool "on account of the absentee." Here there is brought distinctly under contemplation a considerable amount of *money* paid annually to a Dublin tradesman. To arrive at a just conclusion on the entire question, we have only to see what is to happen with regard to this money, if a resident proprietor become non-resident. It is first payable to a Dublin coach and harness-maker. When non-residence takes place, does it remain with the Dublin coach and harness-maker? No, says the reviewer himself. And to whom does it go? He answers, as he should, to the coach and harness-maker of London. Then, there is a clear loss of £300 or £400 a-year under this head, and how is it counterbalanced? By the purchase of *Irish linen*, quoth the reviewer. No, we reply; it cannot be counterbalanced in this way; for the proprietor will have no occasion for £300 or £400 worth of linen, in a year, and any consumption of linen, that takes place in his family, is not a gain to Ireland by the accident of his non-residence. Whatever quantity of Irish linen, or of any other Irish produce, he could by possibility buy in London, he was in the habit, while a resident, of buying in Dublin or some other Irish town. Therefore, there cannot be a gain to the country under the head of "linen and other Irish produce," and there is an admitted loss, in the item of the payments to the London coach and harness-maker.

We need not pursue the subject further. The true doctrine regarding absenteeism is, obviously, that it is, *pro tanto*, a loss to a country, and cannot, in the nature of things, be otherwise. When a community is rich, and when the number of its non-residents is comparatively small, absenteeism cannot be an evil of great magnitude. In England, it is a scarcely perceptible mischief; but England and Ireland are widely different, not only in general wealth, but also in the proportion which the rental bears to the value of the produce of the soil. A tract of land, which yields to the proprietor in Ireland £2 or £2. 10s. an acre, would yield to the proprietor, if it were in England, only £1. If the case were different, absentee remittances would not be so formidable a drain. There is this consideration, too, that England has advantages from the expenditure of the public revenue, which Ireland does not possess. Whatever is drawn from her people is spent amongst them. It is otherwise in Ireland, for her revenue exceeds her expenditure, by, at least, a fourth, and that fourth is remitted to the English Treasury. We are fully aware that the case of Scotland is one of greater apparent hardship in this regard. But the rental of Scotland is low, in comparison

with that of Ireland, and the state of the Scotch revenue proves, that she has capabilities, at least, *four* times greater than the Irish.

It remains for us to give some *data*, on which the reader may arrive at a conjecture, as to the probable amount of the absentee remittances.

This is a subject which interested the Irish, when they had a resident Parliament. We find that, so early as 1691, a "List of Absentees" was published, in a work entitled "Remarks on Affairs of Trade of England and Ireland." Three classes of non-residents were set down in this compilation. 1st. Persons living wholly, or for the most part, in England. 2dly. Persons resident in England, "who received pensions out of the revenue of Ireland in 1686 and since." And 3dly, "Students at the Universities, travellers, attendants and expectants at Court," &c. The remittances to all were, at this period, estimated at only £136,018 a-year.

The next list was published in 1729. The patriotic and excellent Thomas Prior is alleged to have been the author. His "general abstract of the quantity of money drawn out of the kingdom yearly" is the following:—

By those of the first class (altogether absentees)	-	£204,200
By those of the second class (living generally abroad)	-	91,800
By those of the third class (occasionally absent)	-	54,000
By those whose income is under £400 per annum	-	40,000
By those who have employments in Ireland	-	31,510
For the education of youth, law-suits, attendance for employments, and by dealers	-	33,000
By the pensioners on the Civil List	-	23,070
By those on the Military Establishment	-	67,658
By French pensioners	-	2,560
By remittances to Gibraltar	-	30,000
By adventures to America	-	30,000
On account of several articles (ensurance of ships, &c. &c.)	-	20,000
		<hr/>
		£627,798

The next list was published in 1767. It raised the remittances, supposed to have been ascertained, to £869,382, adding £200,000 for reasons stated as follows:—

1st. We are to observe that a great many estates and woods have, of late, been sold in Ireland, and all the purchase money at once carried to England; and, which is farther remarkable, some estates have, in the compass of a few years, been sold again, and all the purchase money sent away a second time.

2d. That great sums of money are yearly sent abroad, to discharge old debts contracted by persons now residing in Ireland.

3d. That, though some of the aforesaid persons may spend less abroad than here rated, yet many of them spend more than their yearly income, which debts must be paid in England after they come to reside in Ireland.

4th. That several estates of Irish landlords, who live abroad, have, of late, been much raised, and large fines taken, and remitted to them, and many more estates will not fail to be raised to the height, as the old leases expire, and thereby encrease their yearly draughts upon us.

5th. That several persons, who live abroad, have large mortgages on estates in Ireland; the interest money whereof is constantly returned to them in England.

6th. Many of our young lords and gentlemen, in a few years after they come of age, squander, in other countries, all the ready money which had been saved for them by their guardians in their minorities.

7th. Great numbers live abroad, whose names and estates, for want of due information, are here omitted.

8th. There is yearly carried out of this kingdom £150,000 by the colliers of England and Scotland, who take very little else but ready money, in return for their coals.

On these grounds, the author added £200,000, being in doubt whether he should not make it £300,000; and the total of remittances, according to him, were in that year £1,069,382.

In 1779, Mr. Arthur Young, in the Appendix to his *Tour in Ireland*, compiled a list of absentees, whose receipts he estimated to be £732,200 annually. But the most perfect account seems to be an alphabetical one, which was published in 1782, and which gave a total of £2,223,222, including, however, a sum of £500,000, being the amount of the expenditure on coals and "other articles." According to this estimate, the rental of the large proprietors, in 1782, was £1,227,480.

The next evidence we have to produce, is that of Mr. Puget, delivered before the Exchange Committee, in 1804, and alluded to already.* According to this authority (and none could be higher), the remittances to the great proprietors, at that period, reached to £2,000,000; but we had better give his words:

"I should suppose, that the money paid to absentees was about £2,000,000, in the year 1803; and I form my calculation from having examined what passed through my hands, directly and indirectly, from the 1st of January, 1803, to the 31st of December, 1803, and the amount was between 8 and £900,000; but it will be unfair to presume, that that sum will continue to be so large, as much of it, for [from] the circumstances of the times, was sent over to be invested in the funds. The grounds I took, respecting the calculation of £2,000,000, were these, that, independent of my private correspondence, I could calculate what part of the Treasury drafts, drawn on me, were for absentee accounts.

* Dublin Review, July 1836, p. 287.

"Do you consider, that £2,000,000 is a greater or less sum, than has been annually remitted to absentees, for the last four years?"

"Greater, though not considerably; but considerably greater than before the rebellion."—*Report of May and June, 1804, ordered to be reprinted May 26, 1826.*

At the period alluded to by Mr. Puget, the effects of the Union, in making England more completely a "governing country" (to use the words of Adam Smith), and giving her, by that means, additional powers of drawing away "the people who possess the most extensive property," could scarcely have been perceptible. Since 1804, a good deal is to be set down for increase of rental. Coals were, as we have seen, referred to, in former times, as a measure of the drain from Ireland. The consumption of them has more than doubled since 1804.* The charges, on account of mortgages, have, no doubt, largely increased. Inter-course with England is increasing every year. In 1831, 11,429 persons passed from Ireland, as cabin passengers in the steam packets, many of them accompanied by carriages and horses. To assume that their expenditure amounted to half a million, is to adopt a small estimate. On all these grounds, it may be fairly concluded, that those witnesses, before recent Parliamentary committees, who regard the present absentee drain as amounting, in one way or another, to £3,500,000, are rather under the mark than over it.†

An entirely new drain has opened in latter years—that of the public revenue. The actual expenditure of revenue in Ireland (which is a diminishing one‡), may be set down at £3,160,000.

* In 1801, 315,344 tons of coals were imported into Ireland; in 1825, the amount imported was 738,453.—*Report on the State of Ireland, ordered to be printed July 16, 1830.*

† Mr. Butler Bryan's estimate, as we have already had occasion to notice, is £3,000,000; Mr. Ensor's, £4,000,000; and Mr. McCulloch's, £3,500,000. The evidence of Mr. Ensor, before the Committee of 1830, on the State of the Irish Poor, is the following:—

"Can you tell the Committee, what proportion of the rental of Ireland is supposed to be spent in other countries?"

"I have made a calculation of that rather particularly, and I should suppose about £4,000,000.

"What proportion do you suppose that to be to the whole?"

"Probably a-third or more.

"On what grounds did you form your calculation of the amount of the Irish income spent out of Ireland?"

"By putting down the names of absentees, and their rental, not throughout the whole country, but in some counties. I took two counties, on the credit of the Bishop of Limerick; and, in two counties, he said, there was nearly half a million; these were Kerry and Limerick—£300,000 in Limerick, and £150,000 in Kerry."—*Third Report*, p. 481.

‡ The payments to the army serving in Ireland, reached to 3 and sometimes to £4,000,000 during the war. They do not amount at present to £1,000,000.

The payments for debt, army, and other services, were, in 1833, according to a Parliamentary return, £2,910,808.* A portion of this was only apparent expenditure in Ireland, as considerable sums were paid out of it to absentee pensioners, public officers, and others, whose incomes were chargeable on the Irish revenue, as well as to the account of clothing and accoutrements purchased in England for the use of the army serving in Ireland. If we deduct £150,000 for these sums, we shall reduce the amount to £2,760,000; to which, however, we must add payments to Chelsea and other military pensioners, made out of the British revenue, which will thus raise it to a total of £3,160,000. The payments into the Exchequer, in the same year, were, according to the Finance Accounts, £3,534,940. To these we are to add £789,000, as "*uncredited revenue*."† Both sums make £4,323,940, and exceed the actual expenditure by £1,163,940. We speak of 1833, for we have no later return of expenditure. The case is, at present, still more unfavourable to Ireland; for, not only has the expenditure since diminished, but the revenue has increased. It would be far from exaggeration, to assume the present excess of income over expenditure to be £1,500,000; and as the absentee rents amount to £3,500,000, we shall thus have altogether a drain of *five millions* a-year, and this counterbalanced only by an excess of the value of exports over imports, which, at the date of the last returns, did not amount, in the whole, to more than £647,000.‡ *This, we repeat, is a growing evil.* Can it be much longer endured? Has it not claims of undeniable urgency on the earliest attention of Parliament?

ART. X.—1. *A History of British Fishes.* By William Yarrell, V.P.Z.S., F.L.S. Illustrated by nearly 400 wood-cuts. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1836.

2. *An Angler's Rambles.* By Edward Jesse, Esq., F.L.S. Author of "Gleanings in Natural History." 8vo. London. 1836.

THE reading public—and what portion of the public is now unworthy of the epithet?—have great reason to be thankful to the author of any work calculated to tempt them forth to the field or the flood, to make them observant of the miracles of

* See last Dublin Review, p. 305.

† Ibid, p. 295.

‡ In 1825, the value of Irish exports to all parts was £9,243,000, and of imports from all parts £8,596,000.—Appendix to the Report on the State of the Irish Poor, ordered to be printed July 16, 1830.

creation, and to instruct and delight them with its beauties as seen on the land, and its wonders as displayed in the phenomena and productions of the mighty deep. There is a spirit of life, and health, and improvement in the contemplation of nature under the direction of a sure guide. It encreases our value to ourselves, and to those who are about us; for it lengthens the number of our days, and encreases the length of each day, by the efficiency of whatever we are called upon to do.

Whatever may be the character of that portion of nature which we visit, it is still fraught with this delightful power of imparting to us, not only the elements of thought, but the capacity of thinking. The mountain top, high above all vegetation except the last lichen, is gloriously sublime in its mists, its eagles, its towering pinnacles, and its stupendous precipices. The dry moor, and the elevated down, whose chief covering is the purple heath, is sure to sprinkle in a due admixture of wild berries,—for the enjoyment of which the birds make the wild ring with their songs of gratitude; while the countless bees, uniting their mellow hum, in the season of the heath bloom, proclaim to us, that if this is not a land “flowing with milk,” it is, at least, a land “flowing with honey”—honey which man could turn to great profit, if he would skilfully avail himself of it.

Even when we come to what may, in a country like Britain, be regarded as the ultimate sterility of a dry surface, namely, to those accumulations of sand, which, in various places, come between the fertile plain and the sea, we do not find that they are barren. Landward, various kinds of bent rise up with exceedingly strong and firm stems, preventing the sand from being carried, by the influence of the wind, over the cultivated country. Farther to seaward, but still upon the dry surface, we are, ever and anon, coming upon four beautifully mottled eggs, symmetrically arranged in the form of a cross, while the fleet birds, to which they are a treasure, run to and fro, whistling and wailing, as if imploring us not to plunder their small and simple domestic establishment. Then, as the high-water line is approached, a different scene presents itself. Life meets us at every step; and the sand appears to be literally animated, by the countless myriads of flying and leaping creatures of small size, which are constantly rising from its surface, and again descending to their place of rest.

What we have here stated may be considered as descriptive of the three steps upon the most sterile surface of the earth, from the barrenness of the mountain top, to the barrenness, if barrenness it can be called, of the ocean strand. It will readily occur to every one, that the comparative sterility of the several situations, arises chiefly from the absence of water. It follows, therefore, that

both in the beauty and the value of the earth, water is the essential element. The facts tell us so. The first dripping of an infant rill from the mountain rock, will contrive, at least, to foster the green moss, even though the elevation is yet too great, and the cold too habitually intense, to allow it to nourish any other kind of verdure. The little rivulets, which dance down the mountain slopes, now leaping from a little rock, and now expanding in a glassy pool, contrive to seam the darkness of the heather, as if the mountain were clad in a mantle of purple, divided into segments by streaks of emerald. When the stream musters its forces, and swells into a river, we are all acquainted with its varied beauties, with the grandeur of its tide, and the countless uses of its waters, not only in the economy of nature, but in many of the arts of human life. And yet, how much remains to be learned from these "waves that are passing by us!" To how many purposes of utility, still unknown, might these waters be applied! Were skill employed, for example, in economising the rain which falls upon our uplands, and runs off in the flooding of our rivers, always carrying a portion of the most valuable soil along with it, it is not easy to calculate to what extent the productions of the field might be increased, and the labour of the husbandman diminished. This is the grand point of political economy—a point before which all the small and artificial projects of the systematists sink into insignificance—namely—that the whole bounty of heaven, in soil, in water, and in every thing that contributes to growth, shall be made to work equally and harmoniously to the greatest effect, and with the least exertion of human labour. The first portion of this involves the supply of plenty, the second, the existence of leisure on the part of the people, for mental improvement, and healthful recreation.

But if this principle is ever to be carried into operation, in a rational and philosophic manner, the study of the waters must necessarily form an important element in the process. Look only to the composition of our earth. To say nothing of the streams and rivers and lakes which intersect the land, seven-tenths of the whole surface of the globe are covered with seas and oceans, united with each other in one continuous, though irregularly formed extent. And can we look at that wisdom of design, which pervades creation, and yet suppose that, surface for surface, the sea is less valuable in nature's economy than the land?

It is not, however, with the waters, considered in themselves, but with their living inhabitants, and with the manner in which those inhabitants are drawn from their liquid element for the use

of man, that we have to deal in the present instance. As regards these, there is a considerable distinction to be made between the fresh waters and the sea. The former would appear to have been devoted to amusement. There are some instances, indeed, in which a fresh water fishery is carried on, solely with a view to mercantile profit, and without any enjoyment on the part of those who are actually engaged in it, farther than the hope of earning a subsistence for themselves and their families. This, however, is the exception, not the rule. Fresh water fishing, in the proper sense of the word, is entitled to take its place among what are called "field sports;" and, in the pleasure which it affords to those engaged in it, as well as in the effect which it appears to have in softening the heart, and rendering the affections bland and kindly, experience has certainly convinced us that it is superior to every other. It is to this subject that Mr. Jesse's light, lively, and most entertaining volume is directed: though we must acknowledge that he points out various modes of capture, which we would feel inclined to exclude from the limits of what may be called elegant and gentlemanly fishing,—we mean that kind of fishing, which derives its pleasure, not from the largeness, but from the glory, of the capture. The highest grade of the art is to fish for salmon, in a broad river, with a clear and rippling current; using no tackle, but an *angle*, that is a rod and line of the proper size and form, and an artificial fly or flies according to the season. It is not of the highest mode to use gaffing or a landing net, because these imply that the angler has not complete confidence in his own powers; and the pride of an angler, of the true school, consists in drawing out the leviathan of the clear flowing river—a gallant healthy salmon of some twenty to fifty pounds—"with a hook," unaided by any such vulgar operations, as snaring or stabbing.

It is true that the landing of a full-sized salmon of vigorous health (and no other should be landed by any means,) in this truly sportsman-like manner, requires a man of great vigour and experience. He must be prepared to wade breast-high into the current, to endure any quantity of scratching from bushes, to tumble upon slippery stones, and to ply his art under a thousand other casualties. Having hooked his fish, he is to allow it fairly to wear itself out by its own exertions, to toss and beat and tumble, until its strength is exhausted, and he can ground it on a convenient shallow as easily as a piece of floating wood. Then, taking it by the nose and tail, and lifting it carefully to the bank, let him dispatch it by that single blow, which every experienced fisher knows so well how and where to give, and which leaves every flake in the finest condition, and rich in its natural cream.

This, however, is not every body's work ; nay, it is not, perhaps, the kind of fishing, in which there is the most general enjoyment. The ordinary fisher may, therefore, turn away from the broad river, and may ascend one of its feeders, till he reaches some lovely dell, where copse and meadow mingle their sequestered beauties, and where the chiding stream, disturbed, perhaps, by a cascade at the upper end, frets its alternate way, in ripple and pool, between the banks. There let him angle for trout. It is in such a place that he will enjoy that sweetness of nature which conduces so much to the softening of the human heart ; and which seldom fails to inspire the angler with a love of nature, and nature's beauteous productions. It has been said that angling is a cruel sport ; but in these cases the question is to be tried, not by the real or supposed pain inflicted on the dumb animal, but by the effect produced upon the mind of the party practising it. Now, as we have already hinted, anglers, from old Izaak Walton downwards, have been men of the most kindly and gentle dispositions ; and publications, on the practice of angling, have usually more both of warm heartedness and of glee in them, than books on almost any other topic, not even excluding those on the subject of flowers.

The two works, whose titles we have quoted, furnish ample proof of this ; for though Mr. Yarrell's takes a wider and more methodical range, than that of Mr. Jesse, yet the buoyancy, and benevolence of the fisher, very often get uppermost even with him, notwithstanding the extent and the profundity of his science. We must, however, defer our particular remarks on these two most competent authors, and their delightfully instructive and entertaining productions, until we have exhausted our privilege of telling our own story.

Sea fishing, we have said, contrasts with fresh water fishing, as a regular trade contrasts with a field sport ; and it is remarkable, that the fishermen who live by levying contributions on the riches of the deep, are more exclusively devoted to their calling, and less fitted for any thing else, than almost any class that can be named. This extends, not merely to the fishermen, but to their families ; and there are many parts of the country, where, in manners, and even in language, the inhabitants of a fishing village are as different from the peasantry of the adjoining country, as if they lived beyond the sea, and not on its nearer margin.

There is another contrast between sea fishing and fresh-water fishing, which is of still greater importance. The fresh-water fishing, even in those lands of lakes and streams, which are most favourable for it, is comparatively limited, although many of the

racers are highly prolific. Their range, in fact, is confined; and, as fishes prey upon each other,—the larger ones preying indiscriminately upon the smaller fry, including that of their own species—they are endowed with powers within themselves, of maintaining a very reasonable Malthusian equality between their numbers, and the supply of food. With the sea it is very different. The volume of water there is immense; and there are fishes inhabiting and finding food over its whole range, and to a considerable depth, varying, of course, with the temperature and productiveness of the waters. Some are discursive, near the surface, and never go to any very great depth; as is the case with the herring and mackerel families, and many others. Some are found in the mid-waters, and are still rather discursive in their habits; and some again inhabit the banks and bottoms at various depths, and seldom move far from the same locality. But whatever may be the general habit of the species, or the tribe, their numbers are beyond all arithmetic, and their powers of increase are perfectly astonishing. Some produce little short of ten millions at a time; others, perhaps, not so many hundreds: but so far as has been ascertained by experiment, it is, perhaps, not far from the truth to estimate the average of encrease at a million. With regard to the times, at which this extraordinary power of nature is repeated, we are very much in the dark. The analogy of land animals would lead us to conclude, that it was annual, though we cannot speak positively upon the subject. If this, however, be the case, let us only imagine what would be the encrease, if there were no means provided for keeping down the numbers. It does not appear that there is the same fixed term of life in fishes, as there is in vertebrated land animals. The death of the latter, when it comes without casualty, seems to originate in the bones, which do not encrease in size after the maturity of the animal, and which begin to be absorbed, and waste away in its decrepitude. To the growth of bones in fishes there does not appear to be any such limit, nor, we believe has there ever been found any sign of absorption of the bones in an old fish. Hence, if the productive powers of sea fishes were to work undisturbed, and no casualty from without were to affect the produce, the sea would become, not only solid with fish, but absolutely mountain high, in the course of a very limited number of years.

But nature, which always has a resource at hand, provides against this consequence, by allowing the tribes in question, as it is usually said, to enjoy themselves in eating one another. Nor is this the only way in which their numbers are kept down. Numerous kinds of shore birds, and other land animals, live upon the eggs and spawn of fishes; and, as if it were to provide for

the subsistence of these creatures, different tribes and species of fishes deposit their spawn, at different times of the year. Some commit it to the waters, some fasten it to sea-weed and other substances, and some approach the shores with it, or enter the estuaries, and even ascend far up the branches of the rivers, for the same purpose. It is this which gives rise to those migrations of fishes, of which so many ridiculous stories used to be told, but which in all the correctly observed cases, are now ascertained to be nothing more than movements towards the shores and shallows, for the purpose of spawning, and back into the deep water, for the recovery of their health and flesh.

The approach to the shore appears to be for the purpose of exposing the eggs to the more powerful action of the sun and atmospheric air; and the purpose for which the rivers and brooks are ascended, appears to be exactly the same. There is one important point, connected with this matter, the clearing up of which we owe to Mr. Yarrell. White bait, and some other delicate species, come to the top of the brackish water for this purpose; and they obviously do so, because the temperature there is higher than it is, either in the salt water below, or in the fresh water above. Mr. Yarrell has proved, on the most unquestionable evidence, that white bait, though a member of the herring family, is a distinct species, and not the young of the shad, as was formerly supposed; just in the same manner as the sprat is a distinct species, and not the young of the herring. Mr. Yarrell was also the first to prove, in a satisfactory manner, that eels are not, as was formerly imagined, viviparous; but that they spawn like other fishes; and that those worm-shaped substances, often found in the viscera, are really *entoza*, or intestinal worms, parasites upon the animal, and not its progeny. He was also the first, satisfactorily to demonstrate, that, in many rivers, at least, eels descend the stream in autumn, and pass the winter in the mud, in knots of many together, and in a sort of hybernating, or dormant state. It would far exceed our limits, however, to point out either what Mr. Yarrell has done himself, or what his stimulating example has caused to be done by others, in promoting a correct and philosophical knowledge of the economy of fishes, whether of the fresh water, or of the salt, or migratory between both.

Still, we must observe, that these are labours deserving of the highest honour, in a philosophical, and, yet more remarkably, in an economical point of view. Even now, the harvest of the sea, around the British shores, is abundant: even now, we are constantly hearing of the plenty of the waters being abundantly brought in, as a supply, where otherwise there would have been

famine in the land. Yet, the knowledge of the subject is still but in its infancy. Much remains to be acquired; and there is no reason why, if sufficient talent, skill, and capital, were made to bear upon it, it might not be increased, a hundred, a thousand, aye, many thousand fold. The resource is boundless. The men who have hitherto taken fish, or attended to the fisheries, have been proverbial for their want of knowledge of the philosophy of nature. Therefore, we have only to acquire wisdom, and apply industry, in order to fetch, from the all-bountiful sea, any supply we may require of the most wholesome food, at an exceedingly low price, and at any time of the year, if the weather is such that a fishing boat may live upon the water.

It is customary to say, and to publish, that such a kind of fish is in season, at one time of the year, and not in season at another: but there is one species which may be said to be in season all the year round—namely, the sole. Now, the sole not only spawns like other fishes, but it is an exceedingly prolific fish, and therefore, must be exhausted as well as the others. In fact, upon the more shallow fishing grounds, it is found to be soft and watery, in part of February and March; and yet, even then, all that is necessary is, to go into deeper water, and good soles are to be obtained.

Now, this fact speaks volumes, and tells us, that, if we would follow the other fishes into deeper water, we should also find them good at all seasons of the year. Fishes, of whatever species, inhabiting the same ground, do not all spawn in one day, or week, or month; and all therefore, that we have to do is, to find out where the good ones are, and devise means of taking them. The sole is among the least discursive of all fishes, and, consequently, we find it always good within a limited range. We should, of course, have to follow the other species to greater distances, in proportion as their characters were more ranging; yet there is little doubt but that one and all of them might be found. In a national point of view, this is one of the most important questions which can well be imagined. The land has to be ploughed, and kept in condition, at great expense; and rent and other burdens have to be paid for it, before the labouring cultivator can obtain a return: but the sea is as free as the air over it, and it requires nothing but to gather in the harvest.

We have, because it is in a great measure new to the generality of readers, gone into the subject of sea fishing at some length; and thus we have but little space to devote to the works of Messrs. Yarrell and Jesse. Much, however, is not necessary. Mr. Yarrell's work, being published in nineteen monthly numbers, and completed on the first of September last, came gradually

before the public, and has already, we are sure, produced the happiest effects. It contains brief, but remarkably clear, accurate, and satisfactory notices of every species of fish, and also every variety, hitherto found in the fresh waters and seas of Britain. These notices include the manners, if any thing peculiar, and also the mode of capture. They are full of information, are often graphic and amusing in a very high degree, and, being founded upon actual observation, may always be implicitly depended on. As a specimen of the information contained in Mr. Yarrell's most excellent volumes, we give a portion of his spirited account of "sean-fishing" for pilchards on the Cornish coast, regretting that our limits will not admit of our quoting the whole.

"The sean used for this purpose is 120 fathoms, or 720 feet long, which is more than a furlong, and twelve fathoms, or 72 feet in depth, floated with corks on the head-rope, and kept taut by sinkers below. There are three boats, a large *sean boat*, a rather smaller *volyer*, and a still smaller *lurker*. There are seven hands in each of the large boats, and four and the master-fisher in the small one. The small one finds the schull (shoal), ascertains its direction, and instructs the others how to pay out the net, stretch it by parting, and present a moderate bight toward the advancing fish. Notwithstanding the size of the net, it is paid out and ready in about five minutes, all in perfect silence, without the least splash of an oar. If the water is deep, a different kind of net, 108 feet deep, is used, with a bunt or hollow at the middle.

"When the net is out, the two boats advance with the ends, the lurker splashing and making a noise to drive the fish on; and the ends of the net are ultimately brought and fastened together. The haul may vary from a single hogshhead to a thousand hogshheads of fish; and when it is large, the net is secured by grapplings, lest the strength of the fish should carry it off to sea. At low water, the fish are raised, by placing a tuck-sean within it, by which the fish are brought within a smaller compass, and raised by closing the bottom of this second sean. During this operation, noise, shouting, and stones suspended by ropes, and plunged into the water, are practised, until the opening of the net is closed, and the fish are lodged in the bunt, in which they can be raised to the surface, and taken into the boat.

"When brought to the surface, the voices of the men are lost in the noise made by the fish, as they beat the water. The seaners fix themselves in pairs on the gunwales of the boats, with flaskets, to lade the fish on board. When the quantity enclosed in the stop-sean is large, the tuck-sean is made to enclose no more than the boats can carry, of which a master-seaner forms a correct judgment by the extent of brimming in his sean, as the fish move in it; and many advantages result from taking up only a portion at one time, for the whole can thus be salted in proper condition, without fatigue, or extraordinary expense. Thus, a week may possibly elapse, before the whole of the capture is secured, part being taken up every night."—Vol. ii. p. 100.

The whole description is remarkably well given, and so is every fishing process described in the book; and there are many brief, but satisfactory observations, on the anatomy, physiology, and habits of fishes. The arrangement is that of Cuvier, beginning with the spinous-finned tribes, passing to those having the rays of the fins jointed, and ending with those which have the skeleton cartilaginous. The last are the lancelet, in which the vertebrated character is nearly obliterated, thus forming a transition, or rather approximation, to the invertebrated character closing the list. The excellence of the arrangement cannot be questioned; and we may say with truth, that there are few, perhaps no, books, which have brought larger accessions of knowledge to any one department of natural history, than "Yarrell's History of British Fishes."

The illustrations are exceedingly beautiful and valuable. Every species is figured from nature, under the author's inspection in the majority of cases; and where such is not the fact, it is mentioned. We have seldom seen wood-cuts executed with so much truth and spirit; and we are quite sure, that any one who possesses the figure, can be at no loss in instantly recognizing the fish, whenever, and wherever, he may happen to meet with a specimen. Nor are these the only illustrations of these two excellent volumes; for there are numerous interspersed cuts of dissections, peculiar organs, apparatus, and modes of procedure in the capture of fish. Besides these, there are a number of "sweet bits," in the way of tail pieces, all connected with the waters, and fish, and fishing, which, if they have not the pointedly sarcastic humour of some of Bewick's matchless tail-pieces, are, at least, more chaste in design, and finer in the execution. In fact, the work is perfectly unique, as well it may be imagined, by every one acquainted with the industry, the talent, the glee, and the liberality of the amiable and excellent author; and no man who loves either fishing or fish ought to be without it. If a nautical expression might be allowed, in closing this brief notice of the best account that has ever been given of the finny inhabitants of the British seas, we would say, that Mr. Yarrell is no mere Ichthyologist, but can "box the compass of animated nature, either with the sun, or agen it, without missing a single point."

Mr. Jesse's volume is quite of a different structure. With all the lightness of a lounging book, it has all the depth of a philosophic treatise; and, though with an aim and purpose entirely different, is not inferior, in its way, to Mr. Yarrell's more elaborate and systematic work. The fact is, that the two authors are as sworn brothers, in the pleasing contemplation of nature; and

that their brotherhood is the result of very strong resemblance in mind and feeling. Mr. Jesse begins with an account of Thames fishing, and shows how even the most wily inhabitants of its gentle tide may be taken with the greatest ease and the most perfect certainty. We regret our inability to record any of the mighty trout which have been landed from this river; but we cannot resist mentioning the following deed in the article of salmon:—

"October 3, 1812, at Shepperton Deep, Mr. G. Marshall, of Brewer Street, London, caught a salmon with *single gut*, without a landing-net, weighing twenty-one and a quarter pounds."

This is the way that a salmon ought to be caught.

Mr. Jesse next proceeds to discuss the method of trolling in Staffordshire, and intersperses his account with some prettily told stories, for which we regret that we have no room, though Cleaveland Hall, and various other attractions, beckon us onward. Next comes the "Perch Fishing Club," and then the "Two day fly-fishing on the banks of the Test." "The Leckford Fishing Club" is the next on the tapis, and they introduce some very interesting hints and instructions to anglers. To this follows fishing for the grayling, and a visit to Oxford. Then the "country clergyman" figures onward to the end of the book. We have known many a country clergyman, who thrashed the waters like a very Gideon, but thrashed them in vain; and who, consequently, would have given the "tithe of his own tithes," for the tithe of the information contained in Mr. Jesse's book. It is even a lighter book in the playful parts than "*Salmonia*," by the late Sir Humphry Davy; and when the two parties bring their tackle into action, if they had been on the same water at the same time, we certainly should have preferred taking our dish of fish with Mr. Jesse.

But we must break from this engaging subject; for we could write a month without exhausting it. Angling is a delightful sport, and fishing a most lucrative employment; and individuals and the country cannot be too grateful to Mr. Yarrell and Mr. Jesse for their two most instructive and delightful books.

ART. XI.—*Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Royal Dublin Society.* Ordered to be printed in the Session of 1836.

THE present state of Ireland is said to be a political anomaly. The contrary is the fact. Were the country different from what it is, were it prosperous and tranquil, after centuries upon centuries of systematic mismanagement, it might indeed be pronounced an anomaly, a contradiction to every principle of sound

reasoning, and to every deduction of common sense. Many of our modern economists, in their eagerness to apply some favourite specific, look no farther than the prominent results, which force themselves first on their attention. In their hurry to effect an instantaneous cure, they prescribe merely for the symptoms, and then are astonished that the remedies, that have succeeded in cases apparently similar, should here prove utterly ineffectual, if not pernicious. The truth is, that the causes of the disease lie infinitely deeper than these persons imagine. The virus of corrupt legislation has been so long suffered to work its way through the system, that it has infected every pore and fibre of the body politic; and it is not, therefore, by ordinary means, or by the application of ordinary remedies, that we can hope to see the malady removed, and the health of the patient permanently restored.

To account for the miseries of Ireland, it is not necessary to lead the enquirer back to the earlier periods of British connexion. An impartial review of the circumstances of the country, since the revolution in 1688, will sufficiently explain its present situation; and we think the reader, as he peruses the history, will wonder, not that the people are wretched, and the land impoverished, but that the wretchedness and poverty of both are not infinitely more deplorable.

The Revolution is one of the great eras of Irish history. At that time, the country changed masters. The change was radical,—not merely the substitution of one dynasty for another, of a Nassau for a Stuart, of a Whig for a Tory domination: it extended over the whole surface, it affected every acre of the soil, and penetrated to the hearth even of the poorest cottier. The wars of 1641 and 1688, occasioned, with a few insignificant exceptions, a sudden and violent transfer of the landed property of the whole kingdom. The old possessors, whose interests, and habits, and feelings, had been identified with those of the great mass of the population, by the tenure of centuries, were at once ousted; a swarm of hungry adventurers, the refuse of the army, or the dregs of the London shopkeepers, was introduced; and the scenes, which, in another clime, and in another age, had marked the subjugation of the Red Indians, were re-enacted, in the seventeenth century, on the shores of Ireland.

The new settlers, having obtained possession of the soil, partly by the expatriation of the native wealth, spirit, and intelligence of the country, and partly by the removal, into remote and barren districts, of those who wanted either the spirit or the pecuniary means to emigrate, proceeded to secure the permanency of their tenure by a series of laws, most elaborately and ingeniously concocted between the Parliaments of Dublin and Westminster, for the

eradication of what still lingered of the manufactures, the agriculture, the education, and the religion of the people. In this task they proceeded with equal energy and success. They had nothing, in fact, to restrain them. Laws, made by the new settlers for the purposes of ignorant and tyrannical domination, were responded to by others, framed in their mother country in a kindred spirit of blind oppression and selfish monopoly. On both sides, they were passed as soon as proposed. Nothing remained to check the insolence and cruelty of the tyrant. The Irish were conquered, depressed, and prostrate. Existence was the only right allowed them, and even this was rather tolerated than acknowledged. "The law," says one of the English lawyers, sent over to fill a vacancy on the Irish Bench, "the law does not recognise the existence of a papist in the country."

The history of the period, now before us, affords ample proof of the state of destitution to which these proceedings speedily reduced the country. Swift, in his "*Short View of the State of Ireland*," written in 1727, tells us, that "the want of industry of the people is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements." "Ireland," continues he, "is the only kingdom I ever heard of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures, wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state. Yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us, in the most momentous parts of commerce; besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed. . . . Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment." Two years afterwards, the overflowings of his proud and sensitive heart, at the still increasing wretchedness of his country, burst forth in that most caustic and biting satire, sent into the world under the attractive title of, "*A modest Proposal for preventing the Children of Poor People in Ireland from being a Burthen to their Parents or Country, and for making them beneficial to the Public*." In this "modest proposal," he recommends that the "children of the poor may be offered in sale to the people of quality and fortune, as an article of food. A child," says he, "will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and, when the family dineth alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish; and, seasoned with a little pepper and salt, will be very good boiled, on the fourth day, especially in winter. . . . I grant," continues he, in the same tone of bitter sarcasm, "that this food will be somewhat dear, and, therefore, very proper for landlords; who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have

the best title to the children." The act of Primate Boulter, passed about the same period, to *compel* each landholder to till five out of every hundred acres in his possession, affords a grave and serious confirmation of the hideous picture revealed to us in the scourging irony of Swift.

A simple mode of remedying the ruinous effects of the measures adopted by the new settlers, would have been to retrace their own steps, to break down the artificial barriers which they had so industriously erected, and to allow the great natural energies of the people full scope. But the new and unwilling connection, which had grown up between landlord and tenant, forbade this proceeding. In the country whence they had emigrated, these terms conveyed an idea of all that was fostering and endearing,—a reciprocity of kindly feelings based upon a reciprocity of interests, an interchange of paternal protection and grateful, cordial obedience. In Ireland, it was the reverse of all this: it was the iron bond of master and slave. Terror was the ruling principle—severity, unqualified by any gentle feeling, the instrument. The landlord looked on every cottier as a lurking enemy: the tenant viewed the proprietor as an usurping tyrant. The former gave employment only because his lands would otherwise be worthless: the latter yielded his labour only as a desperate alternative against starvation. From elements so anti-social, what was to be looked for but a continuance of bitter, ill-disguised enmity? In such a state of things, to relax the rigour of penal and prohibitory legislation, would have been, in the opinion of the ruling caste, to let loose the famished tiger. Yet the country could not remain in its present condition. It was running rapidly to ruin. The wretchedness of the tenants was recoiling upon the landlords, and the landlords were already beginning to smart sorely under the reaction.

At this conjuncture, a few well-meaning individuals, who saw the evil, and doubtless felt its pressure upon themselves, laid their heads together; and, according to the usual custom among well-meaning people, agreed that "something must be done." This something, however, meant anything that would not trench upon the system of coercive legislation, which they, in common with their party, deemed essential, not merely to their welfare, but even to their very existence. Half measures, the usual resource of little-minded politicians, were, therefore, resorted to. A thousand plans were proposed, a thousand expedients were adopted; and the political empiricism of the time rose at once to the heyday of its glory. Among a variety of other schemes, it was thought possible to effect the revival of the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the country, by means of a society, which should

diffuse instruction on these subjects by its publications, and stimulate emulation by medals, premiums, and other such excitements. Hence arose the Dublin Society, in 1731, not more than thirty years after the final prostration of the native energies and capabilities of the country, consequent upon the decisive action off La Hogue. This association, though limited in numbers, and not very remarkable for rank or influence, entertained ideas sufficiently magnificent of its own capabilities. The number of associates was, for several years, less than a hundred; yet it was to be an association for the general improvement of Ireland, and the name, by which it was to be designated, was that of "*The Dublin Society for improving Husbandry, Manufactures, and other useful Arts and Sciences.*" It was one of the fundamental rules, that every member should specifically apply himself to the furtherance of some particular branch of its operations. In 1749, it obtained the charter of incorporation, under which it still continues to act; and, for some years previously, it received an annual grant of £500 from the king's privy purse, which was afterwards so considerably augmented, as to give an average of £5000 during a series of years. In some instances, the grant amounted to £10,000. The money, thus entrusted to it, was chiefly expended in premiums, some for improvements in agriculture, others for the reclamation of waste lands, for planting, for the fisheries, for new or improved branches of manufacture, for inventions of every description, for ingenious works of art, and for investigations, both statistical and antiquarian, connected with the country. Subsequently to the Union, it received an annual parliamentary grant of £10,000, which was continued, at that rate, till 1819, when it was first reduced to £7000, and afterwards, in 1830, to something more than £5000. At the last named period, its operations were, to a certain degree, contracted by the formation of another society, exclusively agricultural, which also received a large grant of public money. But, as the extension of public liberality to the newly-formed body was not made at the expense of its precursor, the only effect, produced by it on the Dublin Society, was, that the time and money, hitherto devoted to agriculture, were diverted to other objects, and that the fine arts received a more enlarged share of its attention. Latterly, the objects to which the Society has chiefly devoted itself, have been the advancement of the useful and ornamental arts, and the diffusion of a knowledge of natural history and physical science. To promote the former, schools of elementary instruction in the art of drawing were, in the first instance, established, and a collection of statues and casts was made: to advance the latter, a botanical garden, a museum, and a repository for models

was formed, while a certain number of scientific individuals was appointed, who were expected to perform the double function of delivering gratuitous courses of public lectures, and of giving private information, to such as might choose to seek it, on points connected with their respective departments.

As to the funds, whereby all these purposes were to be effected, the summary, already given, of the parliamentary grants, comprises nearly the whole. There were, indeed, some individual subscriptions; but these were comparatively trifling, and we possess no means at present of ascertaining their precise amount. In fact, the accounts of the society, previously to the Union, were so carelessly kept, that even the officers of the present day, who might be supposed qualified, both from duty and inclination, to give information on the subject, could state nothing, or next to nothing, respecting them, in their late evidence before Parliament.—Since the Union, the mode of assessing the contributions of the members has undergone several changes. Originally, the annual subscription, entitling the payer to the privileges of a member, was thirty shillings. In 1801, it was either an annual payment of three guineas, with an admission fee of five, or a life payment of twenty guineas. In 1810, the admission fee was raised to thirty guineas, and again, in 1816, to fifty; but, in 1821, this last addition was removed; and, eight years later, a further reduction brought it down to the sum of twenty guineas, at which it still remains.

The total amount of funds derived from Parliamentary grants, and from the payments of members, from 1801 to 1835 inclusive, stands thus :—

	Total.	Yearly average.
Parliamentary grants - -	£291,706	£8334
Subscriptions of members -	20,028	572
Total for 35 years - - -	£311,734	£8906

The manner in which the funds were employed, is involved in utter obscurity. All that can be ascertained, with any degree of certainty, is, that very large sums were laid out in building. The Society, after having held its meetings, for many years, in hired apartments, erected a house in Grafton Street. But this was soon found to be too small for the effectual prosecution of the multifarious objects which the members had taken in charge. They, therefore, hired a large piece of ground in Hawkins' Street; and, having first erected a repository for implements and models, they afterwards added a library, a board-room, and other apartments successively, and the whole establishment was, at length, transferred to the new buildings. Here, however, it was not

destined to remain. The edifice, ill-designed and ill-constructed, was so inconvenient as to be almost useless, and so damp as to be alike injurious to the health of the residents, and destructive of the articles deposited in their custody. The Society soon determined to abandon the place; and having, therefore, disposed of its interest in it, for what it would bring, it speedily transferred itself to its present splendid residence in Kildare Street, where, also, large additional buildings were found to be immediately wanting, in order to carry on the public business.

That the Society, for some time after its commencement, stood high in the estimation of the public, or, at least, of that portion of it, which had any influence in the management of public affairs, is evident from the numerous donations and bequests bestowed upon it, many of them anonymous, and in sums of ten, twenty, fifty pounds, and upwards. But latterly the current of popular opinion has taken a course diametrically opposite; and the large amount of its expenditure, compared with the small appearance of any beneficial results, has produced an annually increasing conviction of its inadequacy to effect its original object—the practical regeneration of the country. It was the general expression, in fact, of this conviction, that compelled Parliament, in 1820, to diminish the usual grant; and there can be little doubt, that the same cause has since operated in inducing that body to act on the principle of continued reduction, and to withdraw from the society at least one-half of its original allowance. Nor is this all. A few years ago, a financial committee of the House of Commons subjected the expenditure of the society to a rigid and searching investigation. The result was, that, in the last session, it was thought advisable to resume the enquiry; and, for this purpose, a Select Committee was appointed, with instructions to take the whole of the case into consideration, and report fully upon it.

The Report of this Committee is now before us. Though short, it details the management of every department of the Society; and concludes with a series of recommendations for improving its constitution and internal economy,—the grounds of which are developed more at large in a very voluminous body of evidence, both oral and written, attached to the Report, and forming nearly the whole of the bulky folio, of which the Report and its appendages consist.

This document shows at once, that public opinion was justified in condemning the Society. It exhibits a picture of deplorable mismanagement of the funds, and of an equally deplorable disregard of the objects which its charter professes to have in view. Nor is there reason to doubt the accuracy of its statements. The

whole of the evidence, spread over three hundred and fifty-five folio pages, is drawn either from officers, or members of the body, persons, who, as they possessed an interest in the establishment, would naturally feel inclined to place its proceedings in the most favourable point of view. The evidence of two of the officers, Mr. Isaac Wild, honorary secretary, and Dr. Samuel Litton, lecturer on botany, the only officers examined, occupies upwards of a third of the whole. The other witnesses were gentlemen of respectability, and of some degree of note as literary or scientific characters.

The whole of the evidence, thus adduced in favour of the society, we repeat, fully justifies the impression, so strong on the public mind, that the affairs of the institution were grossly mismanaged. On this point, all the witnesses coincide, as far as past management is concerned. All of them agree in saying, that, at the present time, when the Society is upon half allowance, things are going on better. All, likewise, except one, unite in opinion, that some further radical change in its constitution is necessary, in order to justify Parliament in entrusting it, any longer, with the expenditure of so large an amount of the public money.

The spirit of negligence, or of something worse than negligence, revealed by this evidence, seems to have affected every branch of the Society. It is discernible every where. Was it not to have been expected, that a society of gentlemen, entrusted with the discretionary annual expenditure of £10,000 for purposes of the highest public interest, would be able, when called on, to give some satisfactory account of the manner in which they had discharged their important trust? But what is the fact? Not only were no accounts produced before the committee, except, indeed, for the three or four years which have elapsed since the concerns of the Society became an object of public enquiry, but it is acknowledged by its accredited officer, that it had none to produce. The answers, relative to every other department, exhibit the same spirit of indolent neglect, scarcely concealed by a pompous display of effort at doing something to justify a continuance of national confidence. Agriculture, one of the two main points on which the Society originally founded its claim to public favour and patronage, was, at one time, as we have already stated, consigned entirely to the care of another society; and although, on the extinction of that society, this branch of its duties was afterwards resumed, yet it was on a principle as useless and as indolent, as could well have been imagined.

The absurdity of an attempt to revive the agriculture of a nation, labouring under a vicious and partial system of law, by the distribution of a few silver medals, to be hung, we suppose,

at the button-holes of the farmers when going to fairs, or markets, or to church or chapel on Sundays, is too glaring to be dwelt upon. The cattle-shows, as is acknowledged by the secretary of the Society, in his examination, so far from producing any general effect, can have no influence beyond the vicinity of Dublin, where, it is evident, such an artificial stimulus is least wanted.

A just idea of the attention paid to horticulture will be best conveyed by an extract from the secretary's evidence on that point.

"Q. What is the extent of the botanic garden ?

"A. About twenty-seven acres, I think.

"Q. Have you examined any other botanic garden in Ireland ?

"A. There is a botanic garden in Dublin, belonging to the College, consisting of a small quantity of ground, (not more than eight acres,) which, until very lately, had a much higher character than that of the Society.

"Q. What was the character of the late curator of the Society's botanic garden ?

"A. The late curator, at one time, many years ago, was highly thought of; but he continued in the garden long after he had lost all character, either for talent or good conduct; and it was generally considered to be owing to his neglect that the garden got into the disgraceful condition, in which it had been, previous to the appointment of the present curator. Now the botanic garden at Glasnevin has a very high character, particularly for taste and beauty of arrangement: it is, perhaps, rather more of a beautiful than a scientific garden. The scientific arrangement has not been much changed—the Linnean arrangement is preserved—there is yet no natural arrangement. The extent of the garden rather induces the persons who have the care of it, to look on it as an ornamental, than a scientific, garden. If they were confined to a much smaller space, they would rely more on the scientific part, and less on its beauty.

"Q. I see, by the original regulations, that a certain portion of this garden was to be made use of for agricultural purposes; is that the case now ?

"A. Yes. Mr. Niven (the curator) has raised a great many new varieties of potatoes. He appears to have made a great many most important experiments, upon the cultivation of potatoes in the garden. There is an arboretum, containing a great number of trees, the spaces between which Mr. N. has contrived to cover with grass, which has a pretty appearance.

"Q. You say agricultural experiments have been tried in the garden: what has become of the produce of these experiments ?

"A. As I understand, the produce has not been of an extent to make it an object of any great consequence, except with regard to potatoes.

"Q. Are there a great number of fruit trees ?

"A. These are new things with us."

In other parts of this portion of the evidence, we are informed that Mr. Niven is all life and activity: that he wrote a letter to the Duke of Northumberland, and received an answer, written with the Duke's own hand; and that, at the meeting of the British Association, in Dublin, last summer, there was but one opinion of the garden,—that it was the most beautiful that existed,—together with some other facts of similar importance. In short, the whole of the evidence, which here, as in other parts, appears to have been drawn forth very tortuously, may be summed up in the facts, that the garden is very beautiful, and not very scientific—that the curator is an animal all life and activity—that he has contrived to coax grass to grow, and introduced certain novel species of plants, called fruit trees—and that the Duke of Northumberland writes his letters with his own hand! We think we may well exclaim, with our old friend Dominie Samsón—prodigious!

Manufactures, the other great department marked down in the original plan of the society, after having been virtually relinquished for years, have lately been fortunate enough to regain the attention of the managers. For their encouragement, an annual exhibition has been established, and medals, of which some may be seen in the shop-windows of the trading streets of Dublin, have been distributed. But here the fostering care of the society ceases. An exhibition and a medal!—as if trade was to be revived, and the manufactures of a country improved, by such paltry and insignificant means!

Lectures on some of the sciences, applicable to rural economy and manufactures, have latterly, to a certain degree, been substituted for essays and premiums. The intrinsic value of these lectures has been tested by a very fair experiment. During a series of years, in which they were delivered gratuitously, the lecture rooms were numerous attended, sometimes even to overflowing. But, on a small fee being fixed for each course, the audiences, dwindled away almost to nothing. Those who had attended them, for the purpose of whiling away a vacant hour, absented themselves when they were called upon for a mere trifle, in payment of their literary amusement: those, who would be inclined to pay for useful information, were impressed with the idea, that, either from the want of talent in the lecturer, or from the nature of the course prescribed for him, or, more probably, from both causes together, they were not likely to receive an adequate remuneration for the time and money expended. The audiences, according to the evidence before us, were chiefly composed of the families of the members, and of the pupils from the adjacent free schools, in Kildare-place; for both of which classes, the time of

lecturing (from three to four o'clock in the afternoon) was peculiarly convenient. The boys and girls were then just let out of school; and the ladies and gentlemen were enabled to kill a tedious hour before dinner. As for the working classes, who could only attend in the evenings, they and their interests seem to have been wholly unthought of.

The museum department was still worse. The answers to the enquiries of the committee, on this head, give the following results: Natural history? Very imperfect indeed. Collection of birds? Very small, and very incomplete. Geological collection? Very limited. Fishes? Very imperfect, and want classification and revision. Shells? Very imperfect. Fossil remains? Very few.* Comparative anatomy? Nothing illustrative of it. Antiquities? A small collection of Etruscan vases, some Roman remains, and a *VERY FINE MUMMY!* Collection of Irish minerals? A disgrace to the society. Indeed, without entering into the details of this catalogue of nonentities, the whole might have been summed up in the concise, yet most comprehensive, answer of another of the witnesses:—

“ Q. In what department do you consider the museum most defective ?

“ A. I should say there is scarcely any part, in which it is not defective.”

The library is in a less neglected state than any of the fore-mentioned departments. It contains a number, large in proportion to its total contents, of valuable scientific works; but its total is very small, when compared with the sums granted to the society. It is closed during the morning and evening hours, being accessible only from eleven to five, and then only to members, or to strangers admitted by special favour. It is also a lending library, for the exclusive use of the members and their families, the consequences of which are, that, as duplicates are not provided, to meet the double demand, an intern reader may be for months deprived of the use of a volume, while it is going its external rounds, and that, from the neglect of returning the books taken out, many works, named in the catalogue, are missing, and many sets are broken.

The news-room.—Many of our readers will be astonished to hear, that a news-room is here considered an essential appendage to a society for the practical improvement of agriculture and manufactures. Yet, so it is. The news-room forms no unimportant subject, either in the enquiries of the committee, or in the estimation of the society itself. True it is, that it does not cost much.

* This answer is subsequently corrected where the respondent, Mr. Isaac Wild, the secretary, says, that the society has no fossil remains, except the elk.

It is but the outlay of some seventy or eighty pounds a year, from an income of thousands. Yet insignificant as it appears in amount, it exhibits itself as a most important feature in the eyes of the members, both as a point of economy, and as an article of primary utility to the existence of the society. When, from an apprehension of the scrutinizing temper of parliament, it was determined to transfer the charge for newspapers from the public fund, to the private account of the individuals, the plan failed as a permanent measure; the members refused to pay the additional subscription, and the society was compelled either to revert to the public purse, or to give up the newspapers. The former alternative was adopted, on the ground that the absence of newspapers would seriously diminish the number of members.

On the subject of the school of fine arts, little need be said. It is one of the least essential in an institution for the practical improvement of the country. Statues and pictures are expensive luxuries, to be indulged in, only when the national prosperity furnishes a surplus for their enjoyment. When the labours of the Dublin society, or of any other body associated for similar patriotic purposes, shall have enabled the peasant to indulge in something more than potatoes, seven times a week, and to cover himself with something more comfortable and decent than threadbare frize, it will be time enough to talk of the appropriation of public money to the fine arts. At present, therefore, all that need be said on this part of our subject is, that the Dublin Society has made some precocious efforts to excite a taste for them in Ireland, or more correctly speaking in Dublin; and that these efforts have exhausted themselves in forming a gallery of some dozen of casts, and establishing drawing schools, where four teachers receive salaries of eighty pounds a year each for teaching nine hours in the week, and where a number of boys, admitted gratuitously, may attend whichever master, and during whatever time, they please.

Having thus taken a summary view of the objects of this institution, of the means resorted to for their accomplishment, and of the results produced by those means, it now remains only to enquire, what are the recommendations of the committee appointed to investigate the subject, and what are the measures which Parliament ought instantly to adopt. Before we enter upon these questions, however, it will be right to notice briefly the opinions of the witnesses examined—all of whom, it will be recollected, were members—as to the origin of the inefficiency visible in the society. That inefficiency arises, according to these gentlemen, from a single cause—the diminution of the annual grant, which has prevented the erection of buildings suitable to

the purposes of the institution. But, to say nothing of the wasteful, if not profligate, expenditure, incurred, as the reader has already seen, on the premises in Hawkins' Street, it must be remembered that the society purchased its present residence with its eyes open. The managers knew the extent of their income, they knew what Parliament expected from them, they saw the capabilities of Leinster House as it then stood: yet, with all these data to guide them, as to the policy of the purchase, they involved the body in an immense debt, for the purchase of a pile of building, which, so far from affording them additional scope, not only entailed on them the almost immediate necessity of erecting a theatre or lecture-room, a laboratory, a statue gallery, and nearly every other apartment for public accommodation; but, after all, left them in a situation to complain, that the efforts of the Society were rendered useless by a want of room. The heedlessness with which the managers plunged into this new speculation, after the warning example of Hawkins' Street, is still further exhibited by the following fact. The plot of ground, taken by them in Kildare Street, is held under two tenures. The portion, containing the buildings and the area in front, was the property of the Duke of Leinster. This they purchased in fee. The other portion, consisting of a lawn of about two acres, and extending from the rear of the main building to Merrion Square, is held *at will*, under a rent of £300 Irish. The landlord refuses to give any other tenure, and the Society deem the occupation of it essential, because, if it should fall into other hands, the buildings that might be erected upon it would, according to the statements of the witnesses,—the accuracy of which, however, we have reason to doubt,—materially tend to obstruct the light of the rear apartments. Be this, however, as it may, the Society is paying, and, for six and thirty years, has been paying, the annual sum of £300 Irish, amounting now to a total of £9969. 4s. 6d., for a plot of ground, which is available for no purpose but that of an airing-ground for the nurses and children of the members, and of a prospect to the houses in Merrion Square.

But what are the recommendations of the committee? It advises, in substance, that every thing shall remain as it is. *Quia tamen movete*, seems to have been the principle that dictated the report, and quiet enough will the Society be, if the suggestions of the Committee are acted upon. The funds are still to be at its disposal, and the public are still to be excluded from their rightful participation in the benefits of the institution. But let the committee speak for itself. The principle, on which the Society is recommended to be regulated in future, is, that it "be considered as the great central association, for the diffu-

sion, throughout Ireland, of a knowledge of practical science, and of all improvements in agriculture, horticulture, and the arts."—But this is precisely what the Society would ever have been, had it performed its duty. And is it because it has neglected that duty, and forfeited its character, that the committee would preserve its existence, and recommend it to be "considered" as a something, which, by its own negligence, it had long since ceased to be? Or is this recommendation, which, by the way, so carefully excludes the mention of *manufactures*,—is it to give life, and energy, and reputation to that, which no power has hitherto been able to arouse?—The committee proceeds to lay it down, as another principle of organization, that the admission of all respectable individuals to participate in its advantages is most desirable; and, to effect this object, it recommends that no person shall be rejected, on the ballot, by a smaller number than forty members; that the admission shall be a single payment of twenty guineas, for life, or five guineas with an annual fee of two guineas; and that a class of *associate members* shall be formed, to be admitted *on the recommendation of two members of the Council*, and the payment of two guineas. It farther advises, that the whole management of the Institution shall be committed to a Council, to be formed, by a very complex operation, out of eight committees elected annually; that there shall be a general meeting of the Society once a year, with a power to call extraordinary meetings when necessary; that itinerant lecturers shall be sent through the country, under special regulations as to expense; that the Botanic Garden shall be made a school for young gardeners, and, together with the lawn, thrown open to the public, for study or enjoyment, *under regulations to be framed by the Council*; that a reading-room shall be opened, to which persons not belonging to the Society shall have access, by *special permission* of the Council; that each professor shall deliver an evening course of gratuitous lectures, to be open to the public; that periodical reports of scientific proceedings shall be published; that newspapers and political periodicals shall be excluded; that the schools of the fine arts shall be confined to the useful and mechanical departments thereof; and that larger accommodation shall be provided for the Museum, by an extension of the buildings now in possession of the Society.

To discuss the merits of these resolutions in detail would be mere waste of time. They run directly counter to the great principle by which public bodies, entrusted with the expenditure of the public money, should be regulated. They not only continue to leave the funds of the establishment to the discretion of an irresponsible, fluctuating, and hitherto corrupt body, but they

also propose to introduce a change into its constitution, calculated only to render what is already bad infinitely worse. The complicated device of a Council, to be constructed out of eight committees, the committees to be annually elected by the proprietors, and the Council and committees to be then dovetailed into each other, by a strange and puzzling process of mutual introsusception, can only tend to make "confusion worse confounded." The library, which, if properly furnished, would be the most valuable part of the institution, is to be so regulated that, with the exception of the favoured few, who may be fortunate enough to obtain the special permission of the Council, the public are to be effectually excluded from it. In short, the suggestions of the report are concocted in the true spirit of Toryism. The Society is to be made a close borough, and its management is to be exclusively vested in a few influential individuals, with whom the Treasury may communicate, and coquet at pleasure, as to the amount and expenditure of the funds. Our surprise at such suggestions is increased by a perusal of the names of the members who constituted the committee. We ask ourselves, by what political hallucination could the understandings of such men as form the majority of these,—men of sound sense and enlarged political views,—be so far misled as to acquiesce in a series of recommendations, in direct opposition to every liberal and enlightened principle? Nothing, certainly, but the most mistaken notions, as to the actual situation of Ireland, can account for it: for certain we are, that, whatever the Society might be able to accomplish by its own unaided exertions, and by the judicious expenditure of funds, contributed solely by the members themselves; whatever minor improvements it might introduce, in the mode or implements of husbandry, the cultivation of potatoes, or the various species of fruit trees, it never can, by any subordinate, or secondary change in its constitution, be made an effectual instrument in the regeneration of the country. And this brings us to the only remaining question—what measures ought Parliament instantly to adopt?

To this question we reply broadly and explicitly, that, as Parliament ought not, in the first instance, to have entrusted any portion of the property of the people to a self-constituted and irresponsible body of individuals, so it is now bound to redeem its past error, as far as possible, and withdraw the grant which has hitherto supported the Society. Parliament is itself but the trustee for the people,—a delegated body, which has no right to transfer its trust. The expenditure of any portion of the public money, which it cannot immediately superintend, should be committed to officers, fully responsible for its due ap-

plication,—to men appointed by Parliament, bound down by sufficient securities for the fulfilment of their engagements, and, therefore, capable of being brought to account for every defalcation arising from misconduct or negligence.

The position here laid down, rests upon a double principle. It is based on the responsibility of the Parliament to the people, and of the officers of public institutions to the Parliament. Of its justice none can doubt: of its expediency, the history of every public institution in Ireland, constituted, as too many are, like the Dublin Society, will afford the best illustration. Take the Charter-school Society, for example. It started upon the joint-stock principle, of private benevolence and Parliamentary support; the former being to the latter, much in the same ratio as in the Dublin Society. Well, it ran its course; it was patronized, for a time, but it was, at length, weighed in the balance, and found wanting. Look, again, at the Association for Discountenancing Vice; at the Farming Society, already noticed; and, as affording a still more striking illustration of the principle, at the Kildare Place Society. Like the Dublin Society, this last undertook the task of regenerating Ireland; and its specific was Scriptural education. Like the Dublin Society, it expended much of its funds on buildings: like it, also, it failed in the attainment of its object. In short, turn where we will, we feel fully justified in asserting, that there is no instance of a voluntary association, to which Parliament has entrusted the expenditure of the public money for the interests of the people, in which the money has not been misapplied, and the government either left without redress, or driven into Chancery for the recovery of the trifling assets that might still survive.

But, allowing, for a moment, that, in some cases, the legislature might be justified in such an unguarded delegation of its trust, the conduct of the Dublin Society, at least, has been such, as to deprive it of every claim to public confidence. The evidence, now before the public, presents such a constant scene of mismanagement, in every department, and at every period, in which its proceedings could be ascertained, that, to continue to repose confidence in such a body, would be beyond the stretch even of Tory favouritism. Nor is this all. The same evidence contains such flagrant instances of misrepresentation and contradiction, as to render whatever is favourable to the Society, not merely suspicious, but absolutely inadmissible. To give one or two instances only:—Mr. Isaac Wild, in his evidence on the Leskean collection of minerals, says, that its arrangement has remained unaltered, from the time of its purchase, in 1792, as a memorial of the state of mineralogical knowledge at that time;

and that, under such arrangement, it cannot fail to be of very great use to students, in the present improved state of the science. On the other hand, Mr. Richard Griffith, the ex-professor of mineralogy, when questioned on the same subject, states, that the collection has been so disarranged, that it would be difficult for students to find out the places of the minerals, as marked in the catalogue; and he winds up his evidence on this head, with the following emphatic declaration:—

“ Q. Then the intention of the Leskean collection is by no means attended to by the Society, although they so religiously keep up the arrangement *nominally* ?

“ A. I admit that to the fullest extent.”

Again, in a letter or memorial, addressed to the Irish government, for the purpose of obtaining an addition to the annual grant, to be employed in enlarging the buildings, the Society is made to say, that its “ extensive museums are stored with objects illustrative of nature, science, and art; that the establishment is not merely resorted to by the youth of Ireland, but by the numerous students, who, since Dublin has acquired celebrity, by the excellence and cheapness of its anatomical schools, annually arrive from England, Scotland, and from the British colonies and dependencies:”—That, “ with respect to the museum, it contains collections in the several departments of natural history, and an interesting assemblage of antiquities, and works of art, and, *in particular*, it contains *a large collection*, every day encreasing, of the mineralogical productions of Ireland.”

Now, it is only necessary to refer to the evidence of the Society's own selected witnesses, to be convinced of the gross exaggeration contained in these official statements, made, it must be observed, for the purpose of prevailing on the government to sanction the application for an increased grant of money,—statements, in which the deviations from truth rise above each other in a regular climax, topped by the daring panegyric on that same mineralogical collection, so emphatically denounced by one of its own witnesses, as “ a disgrace to the Society.”

The truth is, the whole thing has been a job from beginning to end—from the moment of its conception, in the brain of its original deviser, to the present hour. The *ostensible* object of the Society was, to increase the comforts and happiness of the Irish people, by the extension of their agricultural and manufacturing resources; the *real* object was, without relaxing the severity of the penal code, to secure to the landed gentry an increased amount of rent, tithe, and local taxes, all of which ultimately lodged themselves in the pockets of the aristocracy. But this

object has failed. The people, instead of suffering themselves to be trampled into subserviency, have struggled incessantly against the pressure, and have at length shaken it off. The crisis of 1829, brought about by the agency of a man, with whom the boast of Pericles would be no exaggeration, taught them to feel and to respect their own power. They can now stand erect before their oppressors: and though the contest is not yet over, though much, perhaps, of individual suffering remains to be endured, the victory and the triumph cannot long be delayed. This the Society feels: and accordingly, its aspirations are now limited to the humbler task, of providing a comfortable retirement for itself. Even the medals and the trumpery are abandoned: the only ambition of the managers is confined to the improvement of their residence, and the enlargement of their buildings, where their wives and their daughters may listen to lectures adapted to the calibre of their intellectual organization; may walk round the museums and galleries, in wet weather, to show their country cousins the butterflies, and the Lapland hut, and the colossal elk; and on sunshiny days, may expatiate on the lawn, with the exhilarating reflection, that the country annually pays a hundred and fifty pounds an acre, for their exclusive gratification. This is the humble limit of the job at present. The Society, indeed, protests against such a conclusion. The managers ask, through the mouths of their own witnesses, have we not professors, and schools, and a botanical garden, and a statue gallery, and a museum?—To be sure they have. There must be something to show, in return for what they have received,—something to afford the Chancellor of the Exchequer a decent pretence for pouring the public money into their lap. They have, indeed, professors, or more properly lecturers, with scanty salaries, and not less scanty abilities: they have a library without readers, save only among the favoured: they have lectures without hearers, save only among the triflers, who would lounge away an hour before dinner, and obtain a topic of conversation for the evening. They have, moreover, a museum, where there is neither room for the specimens, nor specimens for the room: and above all, they have a botanical garden, of which, they exultingly declare, the citizens of Dublin may be justly proud!—"Justly proud," indeed! A stranger asks what has been done for the country, and the Society glibly replies,—“Look to our botanic garden, its size and beauty”! We say in return—Look to the people; look to their raggedness and destitution: and when the peasant's cottage and potatoe plot shall be what they ought, it will be time enough to talk of spacious grounds, and beautiful gardens, for the citizens of Dublin. But, to look at the matter in another light:—how

comes it that every other city and town in the empire, ambitious of improvement in the study of nature, can maintain a botanical garden out of its own unaided resources, while that of the Dublin Society, supported by large grants of public money, and still acknowledged to be far inferior, in scientific value, to the neighbouring garden of Trinity College, pleads poverty, and calls for enlarged means to make it respond to public expectation? Edinburgh has its botanic garden: so has Liverpool, Belfast, and Manchester. Who pays for these?—Not the public. The members subscribe, and the institution is creditably and economically managed.

In short, we repeat it, Parliament, which ought to have shewn itself the rigid guardian of the public purse, had no right, in the first instance, to delegate its power, to transfer its responsibility, except to agents appointed by itself, acting under its immediate inspection, and subject to the consequences of negligence and malversation. It had no right to delegate its trust to any irresponsible body, and much less to one which has proved itself so reckless—to adopt no harsher term—in the expenditure of its funds; which, after lavishing upwards of three hundred thousand pounds, in the space of thirty years, has nothing but a botanic garden, and a pile of useless buildings to produce; and which, on being called upon, at the eleventh hour, for an account of its stewardship, has recourse to the most disreputable arts, in order to make out some kind of a bill of particulars. But, if the corrupt Parliaments of former times could thus betray the interests of the people, can we believe that the reformed legislature of the present day will continue to sanction the misdoings of its predecessors? If we know the spirit of the present House of Commons, we say emphatically that it will *not*. The recommendations of the Committee may be impotent, or otherwise; but the evidence, which formed its groundwork, remains: and it is the duty of the government to take it into immediate consideration. Let Parliament, then, look to this. Let it withdraw its patronage from a Society, where everything is loss to the public, and everything gain to the members. Let it exert its energies in behalf of Ireland, unmoved by the clamours and by the interests of those who have been living only for themselves; and the regeneration of the country, and the prosperity and the happiness of her people, will not be far distant.

- ART. XII.—1. *The Vespers of Palermo.* A Tragedy, in Five Acts.
2. *The Siege of Valencia.* A Dramatic Poem. By Felicia Hemans. London. 1823.
3. *The Forest Sanctuary, with Lays of Many Lands.* By Felicia Hemans. London.
4. *Records of Woman, with other Poems.* By Felicia Hemans. Edinburgh. 1828.
5. *Scenes and Hymns of Life, with other religious Poems.* By Felicia Hemans. Edinburgh. 1834.
6. *Poetical Remains of the late Mrs. Hemans.* Edinburgh. 1836.
7. *Memorials of Mrs. Hemans, with Illustrations of her Literary Character, from her Private Correspondence.* By Henry F. Chorley. 2 vols. London. 1836.

THERE is a general complaint amongst the children of song, that the taste for poetry is on the decline amongst us; and there is something like a disposition to fear, that, amid the progress of utilitarian objects, there is danger of its total extinction in the land. If the question, thus raised, were to be decided by the degree of attention which the bard of our day is enabled to command for his inspirations, as compared with the enthusiasm which hailed the songs of his brethren twenty years ago, there would certainly be some reason for these gloomy anticipations. But the poet should be the last to despair of the indefeasible ascendancy, and final triumphs, of his art. A more philosophical view of the matter will assuredly convince him, that there is nothing, in the immediate neglect under which it lies, whence any inference is to be drawn as to its ultimate decline. Its outward fortunes, like those of everything whose manifestations make their appeal to the public taste, must be subject to the fluctuations of the national mind; but its essential influence, as an interpreter of all the natural and moral aspects of the world, and as speaking to the universal passions of the human breast, has a sway as old, and must have one as enduring, as nature and passion themselves. The history of the art in all times, and wherever it can be distinctly traced, exhibits, like that of all other moral and natural powers, a series of sleeps and awakenings, replacing each other in the necessary sequence of action and reaction; and presents examples of its revivification from trances so long and death-like, as to make all future despondency on the subject of its fate idle and unphilosophic. It is abundantly evident, that the taste for poetry is but in one of those natural and temporary lulls, which

form the alternate state of its prolonged existence; and that its present repose is, at once, the necessary consequence of its past activity, and the certain pledge of its vigorous restoration.

Besides this natural succession of action and repose, and not altogether unconnected with it, there are causes more material and tangible, which help on the progress, to the one, or to the other, state of the public mind, when once it has taken either direction. Connected with the advancing tide of poetic feeling, sometimes *occasioning* its returning flow, at others availing themselves thereof, but, in every case, assisting its progress, are always to be found the names of certain masters of the lyre, which float upon its waters, and are speedily identified with its spreading flood in the public mind. These bards become the idols of the newly awakened passion for their art; they come, in fact, to represent the art itself to the age, whose more immediate introduction to it was in connection with their song; and, as the national mind has only room for a certain number of idols at a time, it happens that others, whose names have risen only on the later waves, though with harps and tones as rich as those which have already engaged the public ear, are left to pour their music unheeded and unrewarded by the world. The consequence of this is evident. The silencing of those voices, which have monopolized the national enthusiasm, is followed by the decay of that enthusiasm itself: the passing away of the names which have been the representatives of the art, is taken for the departure of the art itself. The natural tendency of the overstrained mind to re-action, receives its accelerating impulses from this cause; and the ebb of poetical feeling, under its influence, is in direct ratio with the energy and height of its previous flow. Something like this is the present condition of the national mind on the subject of poetry; and something like these are the causes by which it has been brought about. The great masters of song, who poured the tide of poetic feeling over the land, some twenty years ago, have for the most part disappeared, and left it to its re-action; whilst of those who remain to touch their harps amid its ebb, there are some who still sing occasionally, as if to show how much of their fame they owe to the circumstances of their first appearance, and how surely other bards would have worn a portion of their laurels, had they contended for them in an equal field. It would be invidious, because not necessary to our purpose, here to point to the particular instances which illustrate this position. They will no doubt readily suggest themselves to our readers. But, in the meantime, it may be observed, in behalf of the public on the one side, that the fact of there being bards who can win attention to their song, under circumstances the most unfavourable, proves how inde-

structible is the principle of poetic taste in the educated breast; and, in behalf of the bard on the other, that he, who, in the age of poetical enthusiasm, can make himself heard, amid the strains of his rivals, or, in the day of apathy, can gain an audience at all, must be possessed of the true spell to which that principle is ever destined to answer. Both these triumphs have been effected by the lady, whose name we have placed at the head of our article; and it is on this ground, therefore, that we propose to enquire into the nature and extent of her power as a poetess, and, at the same time, to examine how far it was exercised in a manner likely to extend its influence to posterity.

But, before we conclude our remarks upon the error which looks despondingly on the fortunes of the lyre, we may observe that there is much in the circumstances of the present time to render it unpoetical, or, at least, to account for its indifference to the voices, by which poetry speaks. In the most palmy and propitious days of the art, the enthusiasm for its inspirations, is chiefly confined to the young or the idle—to the young who have not yet learnt that the world has harsh realities, which must be met; or the idle, whom fortune has placed apart from its struggles. He who is busily engaged in the contests of life, has little time for the indulgences of the imagination. If his love for the muses leads him occasionally to their springs, it is that he may gather strength for the performance of the sterner duties which await him. But he has no leisure for exploring those dim and luxurious recesses, or wandering amid those haunted gardens and enchanted palaces which woo the spirits of the imaginative and unemployed. It is with nations as with individuals; and with the former, times of social disturbance, or of moral transition, have never been favourable to the manifestations of the muse. The troubled periods of history are, no doubt, those, in which the energies have been awakened and the powers fostered, to which poetry subsequently, and, in calmer moments, makes her most successful appeals. It was at the close of the long struggle against Persian invasion, and under the influence of the energies, which had grown almost divine in the progress of that great contest, that poetry in Greece spoke out, at once, with all her voices, of painting, sculpture, philosophy, eloquence, and song. The protracted silence of the muse in England, during the struggles of the Roses, was broken by the minstrels, who filled the land with song, in the days of Elizabeth: and it was not till the termination of the civil war, in the following century, that Milton employed those powers, which had sought sterner and less worthy occupation, during its continuance. The remark is of universal application, and bears directly on the circumstances of our own

day. If the present age has not been one of strife, it has, at least, been a period of engrossing interest for the national mind. Great questions, affecting the destinies of large sections of the human race, have kept men's thoughts in a state of breathless attention, which left them no leisure for any occupations less important than the examination of the vast issues on which they were fixed. Many of these questions have already received a wise solution; and men begin to repose confidently on the principles, which have governed their decision, for the rest. There is much to do still; but a period of rest is visibly and certainly approaching—and that, too, under the shelter of a state of things which includes little less than a social and political regeneration. New hopes and new feelings are preparing magnificent materials for the bard; and this unmusical and preoccupied age is bringing us to the threshold of a time when poetry is likely to speak a language as glowing and triumphant as heretofore; when enlarged prospects and expanded humanities will supply the theme, and the minstrel will find an audience as attentive and as eager, as renewed spirits and freshened sympathies can create.

It is to the causes to which we have here adverted, rather, perhaps, than to any special inclination in the genius of the writers themselves, that we must attribute the particular form under which the great body of our recent poetry has appeared. In the absence of that encouragement, which gave birth to poetical ventures of greater length, amongst their predecessors, the modern aspirants to the honours of the muse have been content to support their titles by efforts of less pretension; and the public, which would have set its face against more imposing displays of the art, has been won to listen to snatches of song, which, while they charmed by their sweetness, made no great demand upon its time and attention. A larger proportion of the verse of the day has, in obedience to the necessities of the case, assumed the lyric shape, and insinuated itself into notice, in the pages of one or other of the periodical publications. Much even of the popularity of Mrs. Hemans was won in the pages of these fostering volumes; and it was the popularity so obtained which enabled her subsequently to dispense with their aid, and come before the world in her own unassisted strength.

To a review of the poetical character of Mrs. Hemans, we are led by more than one consideration. With the single exception of Joanna Baillie, she is, perhaps, the only poetess of the day, who has established a chance of being heard, beyond the narrow circle of her contemporary flatterers. She has a right, therefore, to our attention: and though we have no design to inquire into the causes of the numerous poetical failures, to which female genius has

been subjected, we deem it right, if possible, to ascertain the precise nature of her qualifications, and to point out the peculiar merits, by which she has been recommended to the notice of her countrymen.

But, besides this, we are anxious to rescue the fame of Mrs. Hemans from the obloquy cast on it, by the unfortunate publication which stands the seventh, at the head of this article. It purports to furnish memorials of that gifted lady, and illustrations of her literary character. The title, however, is an entire misnomer:—the book is written solely for the illustration of Mr. Henry Chorley himself; and includes, amongst its other contributions to that object, an absolute sacrifice of the interests of the poetess, in whose service he would be thought to have enlisted. What may be the feelings of the surviving relatives of the deceased, at the publication of this book, we pretend not to know: but, for ourselves, we must acknowledge, that we have risen from its perusal with such a sense of indignation at its vain and gossiping details, that we can scarcely bring ourselves to speak of them in terms of ordinary patience. Why was the world to be told of a correspondence, which, to name its least objectionable characteristic, is little better than the tattle of a pair of sentimental milliners? Could not Mr. Chorley's vanity be illustrated by a more harmless process, could not his admission to the literary coteries be effected at a less cost, than the depreciation which Mrs. Hemans has been doomed to suffer at his hands?

There were many incidents in the life of Mrs. Hemans, which contributed to make her lot other than fortunate: amongst them all, there was none, perhaps, which may be regarded as so peculiarly unhappy, as the kind of association into which she appears to have been thrown, during her residence in the neighbourhood of Liverpool. For all the other evils of her destiny, her gift of song, and the fame, which was its high reward, brought something like a compensation; while the grave itself, which has since closed over her, afforded her, at length, a final refuge from their power. But *this* evil was one, which struck at those very gifts, and that very fame, which were her comforters under all her sorrows:—nay, through the medium of the publication in question, it has even been made to survive herself, and follow her with its depreciating influence beyond the tomb!

Our own impression, on the perusal of these records, was, that the character of Mrs. Hemans' mind, as displayed in her writings, had been estimated too highly. We thought it impossible to reconcile the existence of such exalted powers with the evidence which was now placed before us; and we resolved, therefore, to satisfy our doubts, and decide the question, by a reperusal

of her works. If the result has failed to remove the difficulty, suggested by Mr. Chorley's records, it has, at least, established the fair writer in the supremacy of her intellectual powers. We can now appeal in her behalf, from her biographer to herself: we can place, against the evidence of Mr. Chorley's book, the evidence of her own books; and can thus rescue the general memory of the illustrious dead from the shadow flung upon it by these foolish records of a few foolish years.

Felicia Dorothea Browne, was born in Liverpool, on the 25th of September 1794, according to Mr. Chorley, but, according to another of her biographers, in 1793. Her father was a merchant, at one time, of some eminence; and her mother, whose family name was Wagner, though a German by birth, was of Italian descent. It is upon the strength of this fact, that Mr. Chorley has chosen to favour us with some vague and apocryphal statements regarding the pedigree of this same Miss Wagner, whose ancestral tree is said to have borne, at some uncertain periods, no less than three Doges. We have no authority to contradict this statement: but we have had some personal means of making acquaintance with the circumstances of Mrs. Hemans' history, and we must acknowledge, that we now hear of her "high lineage" for the first time. Of course, however, it is serviceable to Mr. Chorley's peculiar view of his subject. He talks about the influence of what he calls the *force du sang*; he speaks of the probability of her poetical temperament having been derived from her Italian origin; and he concludes by referring us generally to a foreign descent, for "that remarkable instinct towards the beautiful, which rarely forms so prominent a feature in the character of one wholly English born." We have no doubt that this will form a text of great authority amongst the milliners' apprentices; and as little that any of our poetesses, who may hereafter be looking for immortality at the hands of Mr. Chorley, will take especial care to find a Venetian Doge, or at the very least, a Neapolitan Bandit, lurking somewhere or other amongst the branches of their family trees. What, however, appears to us to have been of far more consequence, both in itself, and in its influence on the mind of the future poetess, is, that her mother was a woman richly endowed with virtues and accomplishments; and that she applied them to the instruction of her daughter, under circumstances the most favourable to the development of her fine natural powers.

Some unfortunate speculations, during the precarious period of the French Revolution, having broken up the commercial fortunes of her father, he retired with his family, at an early period of his gifted daughter's life, into North Wales. Here, in

"a solitary, old, and spacious mansion, lying close to the sea-shore, and in front shut in by a chain of rocky hills," we should have thought that, without travelling to Italy for the purpose, Mr. Chorley might have found the origin of "that strong tinge of romance which," according to him, "from infancy pervaded every thought, word, and aspiration of her daily life:"—and here too, under the care of that admirable mother, of whose high fitness for the task, Mrs. Hemans is not the only daughter that has furnished evidence, the powers of her intellect were unfolded, and the vigour of her fancy grew. There was nothing remarkable in her youth; although Mr. Chorley fills his narrative with those common-places of biography, by which, with a view to confer a spurious interest on those who need no such appliance, persons who achieve distinction in after-life, are subsequently discovered to have been very wonderful children. Thus, we are informed that Mrs. Hemans had, in youth, a very strong memory,—a circumstance by no means sufficiently remarkable in childhood, to erect her into a prodigy. Then, again, we are told that having early discovered a taste for poetry (no uncommon thing either), she used to climb into an apple-tree, for the purpose of reading Shakspeare! Finally, we have anecdotes of such value as the following:—"One gentleman, who took a kind and efficient interest in the publication of her earliest poems, talked so much, and so warmly, about her, that his sister used to say—'Brother, you must be in love with that girl!'—to which he would answer,—'If I were twenty years younger, I would marry her!'" And again, there is a small piece of the sentimental, executed by a lady, who must have been not only remarkably fine, but also remarkably foolish; and who is reported to have said, in the hearing of the little Felicia,—“That child is not made for happiness, I know; *her colour comes and goes too fast*”!

All this is very sorry and very sickly stuff, not worth relating, if it were true, leading to no possible conclusion, and proving nothing but the frivolity of the mind that could occupy itself in its collection. Indeed, Mr. Chorley himself seems to have been aware of his own weakness. Like Dangle, in the "*Critic*," he evidently labours under a suspicion that we may have "heard something like this before:" and accordingly, he endeavours to astonish us with an anecdote, which, at least, possesses the merit of being uncommon:—"The sea-shore," says the biographer, "was her Forest of Ardenness; and she loved its loneliness and freedom well: *it was a favorite freak of her's, WHEN QUITE A CHILD, to get up privately, after the careful attendants had fancied her safe in bed, and making her way down to the water-side, to indulge herself with a stolen*

bath !” Truly, *this* anecdote, if authenticated, would be original indeed !—though even then, we think, that, as an illustration of character, it would have had a better effect, if introduced amongst the childish memorials of some future admiral, or circumnavigator. As it is, however, we suspect that somebody has been mystifying our author.

The reader will scarcely wonder, if we pause, for a moment, to remark Mr. Chorley’s statements, relative to the uncommon beauty of his heroine. Mrs. Hemans was never beautiful. We have the best authority for asserting, that she had, at no time, any beauty, beyond that of youth ; and in later years she certainly was extremely plain. How Mr. Chorley can have been induced to venture upon this subject, we are at a loss to imagine. To the illustration of Mrs. Hemans’ fame such statements must necessarily be useless : to the reputation of the writer himself they must be positively injurious. They must impeach his judgment as a critic, and cast suspicion on his fidelity as a biographer. — But to return to Mrs. Hemans.

That, which *was* remarkable in the progress of this lady’s youth, manifested itself at a later period, than that to which our author has referred. Charmed, undoubtedly, at an early age, with the productions of the muse, her “prevailing love of poetry” (we quote from a sensible and well-written memoir prefixed to the published volume of her “Remains”) “soon naturally turned to a cultivation of the art, in her own person ; and a volume of verses, written by her, when she was not yet eleven years old, attracted, from that circumstance, as well as from its intrinsic merit, no inconsiderable share of public attention. This little volume was, in the course of the four succeeding years, followed by two others, which evinced powers gradually but steadily expanding, and which were received with increasing fervour by the admirers of poetry.”

The fact, however, is, that these volumes were of little value, excepting for the indications which they contained, of immature powers, from whose ripenings much was to be expected. The fulfilment of the promise which they exhibited was, however, postponed by events, of which we know little ; but which, nevertheless, exercised the most powerful influence over the future fortunes, as well as mind, of the poetess. Her marriage with Captain Hemans, of the 4th regiment, a gentleman of the most respectable connexions, took place in her nineteenth year ; and was followed a few years afterwards, and shortly before the birth of a fifth son, by a separation, which proved to be final, as regards this world. Of the causes, which led to this unhappy result, nothing is certainly known. Those which are generally assigned,

are inadequate to explain it ; and we may, therefore, presume, that the true ones involved feelings, which the parties interested had no disposition to parade before the world. If Mr. Chorley possesses the means of enlightening the curious on this subject, we give him all credit for the good taste which has induced him to be silent ; and could only wish that it had been equally effectual in leading him to still farther suppressions. Certain it is, however, that this breaking up of those fortunes, which, under almost any circumstances, form the happiest destiny of woman—this unnatural widowhood to which she was condemned, not only communicated its tone of regret to her spirit, and murmur to her song, but has more than once, we think, been distinctly pointed out in some of the more tender passages of her poetry. Thus, in those snatches of Corinne-like song, which we meet with in Properzia Rossi, it is impossible not to believe, that her own history and feelings are shadowed out. Rossi was a celebrated female sculptor and poet, of Bologna, who is said to have died of an unrequited attachment, after the completion of her last work, a *lasso-relievo* of Ariadne.

“ It comes,—the power
Within me born, flows back ; my fruitless dower
That could not win me love. Yet once again
I greet it proudly, with its rushing train
Of glorious images : they throng—they press —
A sudden joy lights up my loneliness,—
I shall not perish, all !

The bright work grows
Beneath my hand, unfolding, as a rose,
Leaf after leaf to beauty ; line by line,
I fix my thought, heart, soul, to burn, to shine,
Thro’ the pale marble’s veins. It grows—and now
I give my own life’s history to thy brow,
Forsaken Ariadne ! thou shalt wear
My form, my lineaments ; but oh ! more fair,
Touched into lovelier being by the glow
Which in me dwells, as by the summer light
All things are glorified. From thee my woe
Shall yet look beautiful to meet his sight,
When I am passed away. Thou art the mould
Wherein I pour the fervent thoughts, the untold,
The self-consuming ! Speak to him of me,
Thou, the deserted by the lonely sea,
With the soft sadness of thine earnest eye,—
Speak to him, lorn one ! deeply, mournfully,
Of all my love and grief ! Oh ! could I throw
Into thy frame a voice,—a sweet, and low,
And thrilling voice of song ! when he came nigh,
To send the passion of its melody

Through his pierced bosom—on its tones to bear
 My life's deep feeling, as the southern air
 Wafts the faint myrtle's breath,—to rise, to swell,
 To sink away in accents of farewell,
 Winning but one, *one* gush of tears, whose flow
 Surely my parted spirit yet might know,
 If love be strong as death.

How fair thou art,
 Thou form whose life is of my burning heart !
 Yet all the vision that within me wrought
 I cannot make thee ! Oh ! I might have given
 Birth to creations of far nobler thought ;
 I might have kindled with the fire of heaven
 Things not of such as die ! But I have been
 Too much alone :—a heart whereon to lean,
 With all these deep affections, that o'erflow
 My aching soul, and find no shore below,—
 An eye to be my star,—a voice to bring
 Hope o'er my path, like sounds that breathe of spring ;—
 These are denied me—dreamt of still in vain ;
 Therefore my brief aspirings from the chain
 Are ever but as some wild, fitful song,
 Rising triumphantly, to die ere long
 In dirge-like echoes.

Yet the world will see
 Little of this, my parting work, in thee.
 Thou shalt have fame !—Oh, mockery ! give the reed
 From storms a shelter,—give the drooping vine
 Something round which its tendrils may entwine,—
 Give the parched flower a rain-drop,—and the meed
 Of love's kind words to woman ! Worthless fame !
 That in *his* bosom wins not for my name
 The abiding-place it asked ! Yet how my heart,
 In its own fairy world of song and art,
 Once beat for praise !"

And again :—

"Where'er I move
 The shadow of this broken-hearted love
 Is on me and around. Too well *they* know
 Whose life is all within—too soon and well,
 When there the blight hath settled ! But I go
 Under the silent wings of peace to dwell ;
 From the slow wasting, from the lonely pain,
 The inward burning of those words—" *in vain* "—
 Seared on the heart, I go. 'Twill soon be past.
 Sunshine and song, and bright Italian heaven,
 And thou—oh ! thou, on whom my spirit cast
 Unvalued wealth—who knowest not what was given

In that devotedness—the sad, and deep,
And unrepaid—farewell ! If I could weep
Once, only once, belov'd one, on thy breast,
Pouring my heart forth ere I sink to rest !
But *that* were happiness ; and unto me
Earth's gift is *fame*. Yet I was formed to be
So richly blest ! With thee to watch the sky,
Speaking not—feeling but that thou wert nigh ;
With thee to listen, while the tones of song
Swept, even as part of our sweet air, along,—
To listen silently ;—with thee to gaze
On forms, the deified of olden days,
This had been joy enough ; and, hour by hour,
From its glad well-springs drinking life and power,
How had my spirit soared, and made its fame
A glory for thy brow ! Dreams—dreams !—the fire
Burns faint within me. Yet I leave my name,
As a deep thrill may linger on the lyre,
When its full cords are hushed—awhile to live,
And, one day, haply in thy heart revive
Sad thoughts of me :—I leave it with a sound,
A spell o'er memory, mournfully profound,
I leave it on my country's air to dwell,—
Say proudly yet—' *'twas hers, who loved me well !* ' "

After her separation from her husband, Mrs. Hemans continued to reside with her mother and sister, at a quiet and secluded spot, in the neighbourhood of St. Asaph. Here it was that her powers grew to their full stature, and her mind, busied in laying up its store of acquirements, prepared itself for those magnificent efforts, by which it was afterwards distinguished. It was in this neighbourhood that the expanding tone and compass of her minstrelsy first waylaid the attention of such spirits as Byron and Shelley: it was here that she won the friendship of Milman and Reginald Heber; and it is to this spot, therefore, that we would point for testimonials to her genius, which are worth all the unmeaning anecdotes that Mr. Chorley has given to the world.

The life of Mrs. Hemans, subsequently to the termination of its wedded years, seems to divide itself into three distinct and unequal portions; the first, the longest and by far the most important, includes the remainder of her residence in North Wales; the second embraces the period which she passed in the neighbourhood of Liverpool; and the third extends over that, during which she was restored to the association of her own family in Ireland. The rapid developement of her mind, during the earliest of these periods, is well supposed by Mr. Chorley to have been promoted by

those peculiar circumstances of her position, which, "by placing her in a household as a member, and not as its head, excused her from many of those small cares of domestic life, which might have fretted away her day-dreams, and by interruption, have made of less avail the search for knowledge to which she bent herself with such eagerness." During this period it was, that she poured forth in rapid succession, the largest and by far the most valuable body of her poetry, beginning with her prize poems of "Wallace" and "Dartmoor," some not very able translations from Camoens and others, and "The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy;" and including the "Tales and Historic Scenes," "The Sceptic," "Modern Greece," "The Vespers of Palermo," "The Welsh Melodies," "The Siege of Valencia," "The Forest Sanctuary," "The Records of Woman," and above all, the best and greatest portion of those fine detached lyrics, which, having separately contributed to float her up to the height of her popularity, upon their swelling music, have since been collected under various titles, such as "Lays of Many Lands," "Songs of the Affections," &c. Here then is the place to pause, and before we proceed to the less pleasing task of examining that portion of her history which forms the principal material of Mr. Chorley's volumes, to make some enquiry into the character of her genius, and its claims on the admiration of posterity.

From this enquiry, we will at once discharge the earliest of the poems which we have mentioned; because they are, as Mr. Chorley observes, the produce of the transition state of her mind; and, standing, as she does, for judgment, at the bar of posterity, she has a right to be tried by the best of her productions, and the fruits of her matured powers. "Her first works," he correctly remarks, "are purely classical, or purely romantic: they may be compared to antique groups of sculpture, or the mailed ornamental figures of the middle ages set in motion. As she advanced on her way, sadly learning, the while, the grave lessons which time and trial teach, her songs breathed more of reality, and less of romance; the too exclusive and feverish reverence for high intellectual or imaginative endowment, yielded to a calmness, and a cheerfulness, and a willingness, more and more, not merely to speculate upon, but to partake of, the beauty in our daily paths."

It has been remarked, we believe by Mrs. Jameson, that "the poetry of Mrs. Hemans could only have been written by a woman;"—and although this is undoubtedly true, yet it is not less certain, that there is something wanted in it, which might most confidently have been looked for from a woman's muse.

The prominent qualities of Mrs. Hemans' poetical writings,

are, a versification whose varied melody has scarcely been surpassed, a splendour of general diction,—whose pomp has occasionally been employed to conceal a poverty of thought,—and a frequent grace and picturesqueness of particular expression, which enrich it with the continual and unexpected claim of a *curiosa felicitas*. These, with an unlimited command of glowing imagery, an unfailing taste in its appropriation, extreme elegance of thought, and a fine perception of the tenderness of others, have contributed to conceal, from many of her admirers, the somewhat inconsistent fact, that Mrs. Hemans is, herself, deficient in tenderness. Near as she appears to have sometimes approached to it, it is, nevertheless, true, that she has nowhere, or very rarely, stirred the fountain of tears; and it is as true, that, notwithstanding an air of mournful philosophy breathed over her poetry, she has seldom sounded the “deeper deeps” of the spirit. The thoughts, with which her muse is most conversant, lie near the surface of a poetical mind like hers. Her pictures of passion want vitality, and appear rather to be sketched from the traditions of the intellect, than drawn from the deep feelings of a woman’s heart. Often as the ear is agreeably startled by graceful expression in her gem-like verse, yet it is scarcely ever surprised with any of those lines, which it at once transfers to the heart, to be a part of its treasury for ever. The grace of simplicity is one, which she has rarely reached,—one which she seldom even aimed at till later in life, when it failed her. It was not of the nature of her genius; and its want, united with the other characteristics which we have mentioned, contributed, in no inconsiderable degree, to produce that monotony, whereby her poetry is so unpleasantly distinguished.

But there is another cause for this monotony, arising from a defect in her philosophy; and this, also, she tried to correct in later life, and with better success. It consists in her tendency to draw from every subject, which she selects for her muse, its gloomier moral. The futility and mortality of all things furnish her constant theme: her notions of the poetical, indeed, seem, for a long time, to have been limited to these objects. She could not select such a topic as that of Bruce’s triumphant feelings, beside the long-sought springs of the Nile, save for the purpose of describing the revulsion that came over him, as he thought of the weary space which he had traversed to find these little fountains, and the long distance and many dangers, which still reared themselves between him and his home. She surrounds a subject with all its external pomps, and adorns it with a robe of gorgeous imagery, that she may afterwards pluck out the dark heart of its mystery, in mockery of its pride. All the beauty, that spring

confers upon the natural world, is contrasted with all the desolation which it too often brings to the heart. This, it is true, is frequently done for a high moral object, and in a gush of song which makes it incumbent upon us to furnish some of our evidences of her genius, from this class of subjects. But our complaint is, that it runs through her poetry, as its prevailing moral characteristic. "Vanity of vanities!"—"all is vanity!"—makes the perpetually recurring burthen of her song. We will quote:—

"THE REVELLERS.

"Ring, joyous chords! ring out again!
 A swifter still, and a wilder strain!
 They are here—the fair face and the careless heart,
 And stars shall wane ere the mirthful part.
 —But I met a dimly mournful glance,
 In a sudden turn of the flying dance!
 I heard the tone of a heavy sigh,
 In a pause of the thrilling melody!
 And it is not well that woe should breathe
 On the bright spring-flowers of the festal wreath.
 —Ye that to thought or to grief belong,
 Leave—leave the hall of song!

"Ring, joyous chords!—but who art *thou*,
 With the shadowy locks o'er thy pale young brow,
 And the world of dreamy gloom that lies
 In the misty depths of thy soft dark eyes?
 —Thou hast loved, fair girl! thou hast loved too well!
 Thou art mourning now o'er a broken spell;
 Thou hast poured thy heart's rich treasures forth,
 And art unrepaid for their priceless worth!
 Mourn on; yet come thou not *here* the while,
 It is but a pain to see thee smile!
 There is not a tone in our songs for thee—
 Home, with thy sorrows, flee!

Ring, joyous chords! ring out again!
 —But what dost *thou* with the revel's train?
 A silvery voice through the soft air floats,
 But thou hast no part in the gladdening notes;
 There are bright young faces that pass thee by,
 But they fix no glance of thy wandering eye!
 Away! there's a void in thy yearning breast,
 Thou weary man! wilt thou *here* find rest?
 Away! for thy thoughts from the scene have fled,
 And the love of *thy* spirit is with the dead!
 Thou art but more lone midst the sounds of mirth—
 Back to thy silent hearth!

"Ring, joyous chords! ring forth again!
 A swifter still, and a wilder strain!
 —But *thou*, though a reckless mien be thine,
 And thy cup be crowned with the foaming wine,
 By the fitful bursts of thy laughter loud,
 By thine eye's quick flash through its troubled cloud,
 I know thee! it is but the wakeful fear
 Of a haunted bosom that brings thee here!
 I know thee!—thou fearest the solemn night,
 With her piercing stars, and her deep wind's might!
 There's a tone in her voice which thou fain would'st shun,
 For it asks what the secret soul hath done!
 And thou—there's a dark weight on thine—away!
 —Back to thy home, and pray!

"Ring, joyous chords! ring out, again!
 A swifter still, and a wilder strain!
 And bring fresh wreaths!—we will banish all
 Save the free in heart from our festive hall!
 On through the maze of the fleet dance, on!
 —But where are the young and the lovely?—gone!
 Where are the brows with the red rose crowned,
 And the floating forms with the bright zone bound?
 And the waving locks and the flying feet,
 That still should be where the mirthful meet!
 —They are gone—they are fled—they are parted all!
 —Alas! the forsaken hall!"

We must give one more splendid example from this class of her poetry,—only premising, that the sadness of the earthly morals, which it embodies, being ultimately relieved by the final hope to which they are referred, renders it not the most appropriate example of the manner to which we have been excepting. There are many others, which would have suited our purpose better; but that which we have selected is one of the very finest lyrics which Mrs. Hemans has bequeathed to us; and it moreover gives us an opportunity of pointing out another cause of the monotony which marks this lady's poetry. That cause is found in a habit of repeating herself, against which she was not sufficiently careful to guard. When a particular train of thought pleased her, she was tempted to return to it, for the purpose of again saying, in a new form, that which had been well said before. The feelings, so finely expounded in the following burst of music, have echoes in at least two several poems, which she wrote at subsequent periods,—one called "Breathings of Spring," and the other "The Birds of Passage." The following poem, likewise, furnishes an example of the manner in which some of Mrs. Hemans's finest lyrics are frequently deprived of much of their

full harmony, by feeble lines, which fall upon the ear with the effect of discord, amid the rich swell of their music, and which a habit of revision might have replaced by more lofty ones.

“THE VOICE OF SPRING.

“I come—I come! ye have called me long,
I come o’er the mountains with light and song!
Ye may trace my step o’er the wakening earth,
By the winds that tell of the violet’s birth,
By the primrose stars in the shadowy grass,
By the green leaves opening as I pass.

“I have breathed on the south, and the chestnut flowers
By thousands have burst from the forest-bowers,
And the ancient graves and the fallen fanes
Are veiled with wreaths, on Italian plains;
—But it is not for me, in my hour of bloom,
To speak of the ruin or the tomb!

“I have looked o’er the hills of the stormy north,
And the larch has hung all his tassels forth;
The fisher is out on the sunny sea,
And the rein-deer bounds o’er the pastures free,
And the pine has a fringe of softer green,
And the moss looks bright where my foot hath been.

“I have sent through the wood-paths a glowing sigh,
And called out each voice of the deep-blue sky;
From the night-bird’s lay through the starry time,
In the groves of the soft Hesperian clime,
To the swan’s wild note, by the Iceland lakes,
When the dark fir-branch into verdure breaks.

“From the streams and founts I have loosed the chain,
They are sweeping on to the silvery main,
They are flashing down from the mountain brows,
They are flinging spray o’er the forest-boughs,
They are bursting fresh from their sparry caves,
And the earth resounds with the joy of waves!

“Come forth, O ye children of gladness, come!
Where the violets lie may be now your home,
Ye of the rose lip and dew-bright eye,
And the bounding footstep, to meet me fly!
With the lyre, and the wreath, and the joyous lay,
Come forth to the sun—I may not stay.

“Away from the dwellings of care-worn men,
The waters are sparkling in grove and glen!
Away from the chamber and sullen hearth,
The young leaves are dancing in breezy mirth!
Their light stems thrill to the wild-wood strains,
And youth is abroad in my green domains.

- "But ye! ye are changed since ye met me last!
There is something bright from your features passed!
There is that come over your brow and eye,
Which speaks of a world where the flowers must die!
—Ye smile! but your smile hath a dimness, yet,—
Oh! what have ye looked on since last we met?"
- "Ye are changed—ye are changed!—and I see not here,
All whom I saw in the vanished year;
There were graceful heads, with their ringlets bright,
Which tossed in the breeze with a play of light,
There were eyes in whose glistening laughter lay
No faint remembrance of dull decay!
- "There were steps that flew o'er the cowslip's head,
As if for a banquet all earth were spread;
There were voices that rang through the sapphire sky,
And had not a sound of mortality!
Are they gone?—is their mirth from the mountains passed?
—Ye have looked on death since ye met me last!
- "I know whence the shadow comes o'er you, now,
Ye have strewn the dust on the sunny brow!
Ye have given the lovely to earth's embrace,
She hath taken the fairest of beauty's race,
With their laughing eyes and their festal crown,
They are gone from amongst you in silence down!
- "They are gone from amongst you, the young and fair,
Ye have lost the gleam of their shining hair!
—But I know of a land where there falls no blight,
I shall find them there, with their eyes of light!
Where death 'midst the blooms of the morn may dwell.
I tarry no longer;—farewell—farewell!
- "The summer is coming, on soft winds borne,
Ye may press the grape, ye may bind the corn!
For me, I depart to a brighter shore,
Ye are marked by care, ye are mine no more.
I go where the loved who have left you dwell,
And the flowers are not Death's—fare ye well—farewell!"

To the error in her philosophy, of which we have spoken, she seems first to have been awakened by the study of the poetry of Wordsworth—too late, indeed, to communicate to the best of her works the impress of the new wisdom which was stirred within her, but not too late to chasten her spirit by its dictates. The writings of this poet, so full at once of "the still sad music of humanity," and of the sweet promises and cheerful hopes, which are breathed out of all things, came finally to "haunt her like a

passion;" and, had she made an earlier acquaintance with them, might have had a very salutary effect on her own muse. Her fine lines, beginning—

"There is a strain to read amongst the hills,"

are a worthy tribute of her love and veneration.

There is another peculiarity in the poetry of Mrs. Hemans, at which we have already distantly glanced. We have spoken of her habit of repeating her own thoughts in *separate* poems, and the peculiarity, to which we must now advert, is that of doing the like in the *same* poem. She takes, for example, a single idea for the subject of an entire lyric; and, after developing it, in her first verse, reproduces it in each of the subsequent ones,—taking care, however, to present it with some variations of aspect, and to clothe it in a pomp of words and picturesqueness of illustration, which sometimes succeed in concealing the sameness running through the whole. The poems of this class are very numerous, and some of them, such as "The Songs of our Fathers," "The Spells of Home," &c., are, notwithstanding the generally fine flow of their melody, amongst the weakest of their author's efforts. Others again, such as "The Sunbeam," "The Lost Pleiad," &c. have their monotony awakened into sudden life and grace, by the closing application of some striking moral; while others open to us a scene of surpassing beauty, arising either from the series of pictures which they present, or from the accompaniment of a touching commentary running along the entire piece.

Of the former kind may be mentioned "The Treasures of the Deep"—"The Stranger in Louisiana," and "Bring Flowers;"—amongst the latter, "The Departed," "The Adopted Child," and "The Bird's Release." One of each we will quote, in justification of our remarks. The first is founded on a passage in an early traveller, which mentions a people on the banks of the Mississippi, who burst into tears at the sight of a stranger. "The reason of this is, that they fancy their deceased friends and relations to be only gone on a journey; and, being in constant expectation of their return, look for them vainly amongst these foreign travellers." "J'ai passé, moi-même," says Chateaubriand, in his '*Souvenirs d'Amérique*,' "Chez une peuple de l'Indienne qui se prenait à pleurer à la vue d'un voyageur, parce qu'il lui rappelait des amis partis pour la *Contrée des Ames*, et depuis long-tems en voyage."—It will be seen that the charm of this poem consists in the *one* thought running through the whole, and the rich painting and fine melody of the separate verses.

“ THE STRANGER IN LOUISIANA.

“ We saw thee, O stranger, and wept !
 We looked for the youth of the sunny glance,
 Whose step was the fleetest in chace or dance !
 The light of his eye was a joy to see,
 The path of his arrows a storm to flee !
 But there came a voice from a distant shore—
 He was called—he is found 'mid his tribe no more !
 He is not in his place when the night-fires burn,
 But we look for him still—he will yet return !
 — His brother sat, with a drooping brow,
 In the gloom of the shadowing cypress bough,—
 We roused him—we bade him no longer pine,
 For we heard a step—but the step was thine !

“ We saw thee, O stranger, and wept !
 We looked for the maid of the mournful song,
 Mournful though sweet—she hath left us long !
 We told her the youth of her love was gone,
 And she went forth to seek him—she passed alone ;
 We hear not her voice when the woods are still,
 From the bower where it sang, like a silvery rill,
 The joy of her Sire with her smile is fled,
 The winter is white on his lonely head ;
 He hath none by his side, when the wilds we track,
 He hath none when we rest—yet she comes not back !
 We looked for her eye on the feast to shine,
 For her breezy step—but the step was thine !

“ We saw thee, O stranger, and wept !
 We looked for the chief who hath left the spear
 And the bow of his battles forgotten here !
 We looked for the hunter whose bride's lament
 On the wind of the forest at eve is sent :
 We looked for the first-born, whose mother's cry
 Sounds wild and shrill through the midnight sky !
 — Where are they ?—thou'rt seeking some distant coast—
 Oh ! ask of them, stranger !—send back the lost !
 Tell them we mourn by the dark blue streams,
 Tell them our lives but of them are dreams !
 Tell how we sat in the gloom to pine,
 And to watch for a step—but the step was thine !”

The verses which we shall quote as an example of the other kind, to which we have alluded, in the class of poems containing but one idea, are among the most elegant and finished productions in the entire range of Mrs. Hemans's poetry, and contain but the solitary blemish of the first line in the fourth stanza.

They are based upon a custom which the Indians of Bengal and the coast of Malabar have, of bringing cages, filled with birds, to the graves of their friends, over which they set the birds at liberty. It is called—

“ THE BIRD’S RELEASE.

“ Go forth, for *she* is gone !
With the golden light of her wavy hair ;
She is gone to the fields of the viewless air ;
She hath left her dwelling lone !

“ Her voice hath passed away !
It hath passed away like a summer breeze,
When it leaves the hills for the far blue seas,
Where we may not trace its way.

“ Go forth, and, like her, be free !
With thy radiant wing and thy glancing eye,
Thou hast all the range of the sunny sky,
And what is our grief to thee ?

“ Is it aught ev’n to her we mourn ?
Doth she look on the tears by her kindred shed ?
Doth she rest with the flowers o’er her gentle head ;
Or float on the light wind borne ?

“ We know not—but she is gone !
Her step from the dance, her voice from the song,
And the smile of her eye from the festal throng ;—
She hath left her dwelling lone !

“ When the waves at sunset shine,
We may hear thy voice, amid thousands more,
In the scented woods of our glowing shore,
But we shall not know ’tis thine !

“ Ev’n so with the loved one flown !
Her smile in the star-light may wander by,
Her breath may be near in the wind’s low sigh,
Around us—but all unknown.

“ Go forth, we have loosed thy chain !
We may deck thy cage with the richest flowers,
Which the bright day rears in our eastern bowers,
But thou wilt not be lured again.

“ Ev’n thus may the summer pour
All fragrant things on the land’s green breast,
And the glorious earth like a bride be drest,
But it wins *her* back no more !”

But the harp of Mrs. Hemans, even in its shorter strains, is not confined to the limits of these subjects. It embraces many varieties of tone and topic, and running through "all moods of the lyre," is "master of all." Indeed, on turning over the volumes which contain them, with a view to this article, we have found such an embarrassing multitude, which seem to have the character of undying lays, that we cannot feel any apprehension for her future fame, if it be only from the effect of these detached lyrics. How fine and solemn, and, for once, how appropriately simple, are the sentiments and the music of the following:

" THE TRUMPET.

" The trumpet's voice hath roused the land,
 Light up the beacon pyre !
 A hundred hills have seen the brand,
 And waved the sign of fire.
 A hundred banners to the breeze
 Their gorgeous folds have cast—
 And hark !—was that the sound of seas ?
 —A king to war went past !

" The chief is arming in his hall,
 The peasant by his hearth ;
 The mourner hears the thrilling call,
 And rises from the earth.
 The mother on her first-born son
 Looks with a boding eye—
They come not back, though all be won,
 Whose young hearts leap so high.

" The bard hath ceased his song, and bound
 The falchion to his side ;
 E'en for the marriage-altar crowned,
 The lover quits his bride.
 And all this haste, and change, and fear,
 By *earthly* clarion spread !
 How will it be when kingdoms hear
 The blast that wakes the dead ?"

And what can exceed the deep, and religious, and hymn-like beauty of the following?—

" INVOCATION,

(*Written after the Death of a Sister-in-law.*)

" Answer me, burning stars of night !
 Where is the spirit gone,
 That past the reach of human sight,
 E'en as a breeze hath flown ?

—And the stars answered me—‘ We roll
In light and power on high,
But of the never-dying soul
Ask things that cannot die !’

“ Oh ! many-toned and chainless wind !
Thou art a wanderer free ;
Tell me if *thou* its place canst find,
Far over mount and sea ?
—And the wind murmured in reply,
‘ The blue deep I have crost
And met its banks and billows high,
But not what thou hast lost !’

“ Ye clouds that gorgeously repose
Around the setting sun,
Answer ! have ye a home for those
Whose earthly race is run ?
The bright clouds answered—‘ We depart,
We vanish from the sky ;
Ask what is deathless in thy heart
For that which cannot die !’

“ Speak, then, thou voice of God within !
Thou of the deep, low tone !
Answer me through life’s restless din,
Where is the spirit flown ?
—And the voice answered—‘ Be thou still !
Enough to know is given ;
Clouds, winds, and stars *their* task fulfil,
Thine is to trust in heaven !’ ”

The human mind, whatever may be its occupations, will never be without echoes for poetry like this !

But there is one other class of these lyrics on which we must bestow a single word of notice, before we proceed to the examination of Mrs. Hemans’ more elaborate poetry—we mean her chivalric and other ballads. That she should succeed in this style might have been safely predicated of her, by every one familiar with the pomp and gorgeousness of her diction, and the occasionally stately sweep of her melody,—so peculiarly appropriate both to the chivalric lay, and to the battle song. Accordingly, she has produced some spirit-stirring examples of ballad, of which we must endeavour to find room for a single example. The subject is thus related by Madame de Stael :—

“ Ivan le terrible étant déjà devenu vieux, assiégeait Novogorod. Les Boyards, le voyant affaibli, lui demandèrent s’il ne voulait pas donner le commandement de l’assaut à son fils. Sa fureur fut si grande à cette proposition, que rien ne put l’apaiser ;

son fils se prosterna à ses pieds ; il le repoussa, avec un coup d'une telle violence que, deux jours après, le malheureux en mourut. Le père, alors en désespoir, devint indifférent à la guerre comme au pouvoir, et ne survécut que peu de mois à son fils."

" IVAN THE CZAR.

- " He sat in silence on the ground,
The old and haughty Czar ;
Lonely though princes girt him round,
And leaders of the war :
He had cast his jeweled sabre,
That many a field had won,
To the earth, beside his youthful dead,
His fair and first-born son.
- " With a robe of ermine for its bed,
Was laid that form of clay,
Where the light, a stormy sunset shed,
Through the rich tent made its way ;
And a sad and solemn beauty
On the pallid face came down,
Which the lord of nations mutely watched,
In the dust, with his renown.
- " Low tones, at last, of woe and fear,
From his full bosom broke ;—
A mournful thing it was to hear
How, then, the proud man spoke !
The voice that through the combat
Had shouted far and high,
Came forth in strange, dull, hollow tones,
Burdened with agony.
- " " There is no crimson on thy cheek,
And on thy lip no breath ;
I call thee, and thou dost not speak—
They tell me this is death !
And fearful things are whispering,
That *I* the deed have done—
For the honour of thy father's name,
Look up—look up my son !
- " " Well might I know death's hue and mien,
But on *thine* aspect, boy !
What, till this moment, have I seen,
Save pride and tameless joy ?
Swiftest thou wert to battle,
And bravest there of all—
How *could* I think a warrior's frame
Thus like a flower should fall !

"I will not bear that still, cold look—
 Rise up, thou fierce and free!
 Wake as the storm wakes! I will brook
 All, save this calm, from thee!
 Lift brightly up, and proudly,
 Once more thy kindling eyes!
 Hath my word lost its power on earth?
 I say to thee, arise!

"Didst thou not know I loved thee well?
 Thou didst not! and art gone,
 In bitterness of soul, to dwell
 Where man must dwell alone.
 Come back, young fiery spirit!
 If but one hour—to learn
 The secrets of the folded heart
 That seemed to thee so stern.

"Thou wert the first—the first fair child
 That in mine arms I pressed;
 Thou wert the bright one that hast smiled,
 Like summer, on my breast!
 I reared thee as an eagle,
 To the chase thy steps I led,
 I bore thee on my battle-horse,—
 I look upon thee—dead!

"Lay down my warlike banners here,
 Never again to wave,
 And bury my red sword and spear,
 Chiefs! in my first-born's grave!
 And leave me!—I have conquered,
 I have *slain*—my work is done!
 Whom have I slain?—ye answer not,—
 Thou, too, art mute, my son!

"And thus his wild lament was poured
 Through the dark, resounding night;
 And the battle knew no more his sword,
 Nor the foaming steed his might.
 He heard strange voices moaning,
 In every wind that sighed;
 From the searching stars of heaven he shrank,
 Humbly the conqueror died!"

The peculiarities which we have described as characterising the muse of Mrs Hemans, were all of them unpropitious to her success in dramatic writing. Her genius was essentially undramatic. Her very limited acquaintance with the action of life (arising out of the circumstances of her position), her one-sided

view of its morals, and the habit which she had fostered, of relying upon a picturesque and highly-coloured diction, to conceal her want of power over the springs of the affections, were so many reasons which should have pointed out the hopelessness for her of any attempt in that walk of literature. Her characters all speak that highly-enriched phraseology, which never was the language of the passions, and which, in fact, takes from them all air of reality. The illusions of the drama it was altogether beyond her power to create. It was, as Mr. Chorley states, at the instigation of Reginald Heber, that she first attempted composition in this form; and, by the aid of Mr. Milman, her "*Vespers of Palermo*" was, after many delays, produced at Covent Garden, in the winter of 1823. As might have been anticipated, it failed. Besides its numerous other faults, the characters are full of exaggeration, the plot is badly constructed, and its parts hang loosely together. Notwithstanding many fine passages which it contains, it is, in every point of view, one of the least successful of its author's performances.

"*The Siege of Valencia*" is a poem, which likewise assumes the dramatic form; but, being submitted to no other of the dramatic tests, may be read and judged of, as if it had appeared in any other shape. It is one of the finest of Mrs. Hemans' poems, and that which first exhibits her in full possession of her perfected powers. There is in it a more sustained energy than she had hitherto reached, or ever reached again; and it abounds in passages of earnest and passionate beauty. The Monk's tale is told with startling power; and the stern and lofty resolve of the high-souled father, subduing the throbs of natural agony at the bidding of principle, brought into perpetual conflict with the passionate pleadings and eloquent gushings of the mother, sweeping away all considerations of conventional duty in the wild rush of their irresistible tide, presents contrasts such as are of the very highest resources of art, and creates an interest in the heart of the most engrossing kind. To do justice to Mrs. Hemans, we should quote from this poem; but our space forbids our making extracts from its pages; and we can find no short passage which, detached from the rest, would convey any thing like a fair impression of its merit.

The "*Forest Sanctuary*," was, we believe, considered, by the poetess herself, as her best work; and, in some respects, we are disposed to give the confirmation of our judgment to that opinion. We think that, in this poem, she has not only touched the spring of one of the finest secrets of the heart, but has also gone deeper into its hiding places than on any other occasion. We waive all consideration of the subject of the poem. It has a controversial

basis,—to which Mrs. Hemans was manifestly unequal, both from the constitution of her mind, and from her entire want of the necessary acquaintance with the subject. Her letters, published by Mr. Chorley, prove that, in matters of controversial politics and religion, she was versed in the merest common-places of bigotry,—common-places which were traditional with her, and not a deduction from any reasonings of her own. “The poem,” she says, “is intended to describe the mental conflicts, as well as outward sufferings, of a Spaniard, who, flying from the religious persecutions of his own country, in the 16th century, takes refuge with his child in a North American forest. The story is supposed to be related by himself, amidst the wilderness which has afforded him an asylum.” We leave her in quiet possession of her story, which we need not trouble by any criticism. As might be expected, it presents, in its natural pictures—whether of the boundless forest, or a burial at sea—many fine passages, of that peculiar beauty with which the muse of Mrs. Hemans is most conversant. But the one specimen of a more subtle perception and refined sensibility than the poetess has anywhere else exhibited, we desire to quote for our readers; though we are apprehensive that its exquisite delicacy and *tenderness* may fail to be adequately conveyed, when it is separated from the pages describing that conflict of feelings which had preceded it. The stanzas in question aim at picturing that shadow, which falls between two hearts, when they have passed, by a change in one of them, into the influence of separate faiths—the sense of an obstacle, felt for the first time, to the full and entire intermingling of their wedded spirits:—

“Alas! for those that love and may not blend in prayer.”

The thought is one of great delicacy; and it is wrought out with a very fine pencil.

“I looked on Leonor, and if there seemed
A cloud of more than pensiveness to rise
In the faint smiles that o’er her features gleamed,
And the soft darkness of her serious eyes,
Misty with tender gloom, I called it nought
But the fond exile’s pang, a lingering thought
Of her own vale, with all its melodies
And living light of streams. Her soul would rest
Beneath your shades, I said, bowers of the gorgeous west!

“Oh! could we live in visions! could we hold
Delusion faster, longer, to our breast,
When it shuts from us, with its mantle’s fold,
That which we see not, and are therefore blest!

But they, our loved and loving,—they to whom
We have spread out our souls in joy and gloom,—
Their looks and accents unto our's address'd
Have been a language of familiar tone,
Too long, to breathe, at last, dark sayings and unknown.

“ I told my heart 'twas but the exile's woe
Which pressed on that sweet bosom ;— I deceived
My heart but half,—a whisper faint and low,
Haunting it ever, and at times believed,
Spoke of some deeper cause. How oft we seem
Like those that dream, and *know* the while they dream,
'Midst the soft falls of airy voices grieved,
And troubled, while bright phantoms round them play,
By a dim sense that all will float and fade away !

“ Yet, as if chasing joy, I wooed the breeze,
To speed me onward with the wings of morn.
—Oh, far amidst the solitary seas,
Which were not made for man, what man hath borne,
Answering their moan with his !—what *thou* didst bear,
My lost and loveliest ! while that secret care
Grew terror, and thy gentle spirit, worn
By its dull brooding weight, gave way at last,
Beholding me as one from hope for ever cast.

“ For unto thee, as through all change, revealed
Mine inward being lay. In other eyes
I had to bow me yet, and make a shield,
To fence my burning bosom, of disguise,
By the still hope sustained ere long to win
Some sanctuary, whose green retreats within,
My thoughts, unfettered, to their source might rise,
Like songs and scents of morn ; but thou didst look
Through all my soul,—and thine even unto fainting shook.

“ Fallen, fallen I seemed—yet oh ! not less beloved,
Though from thy love was plucked the early pride,
And harshly by a gloomy faith reproved,
And seared with shame ! though each young flower had died,
There was the root, strong, living, not the less
That all it yielded now was bitterness ;
Yet still such love as quits not misery's side,
Nor drops from guilt its ivy-like embrace,
Nor turns away from death's its pale heroic face.

“ Yes ! thou hadst followed me through fear and flight ;
Thou wouldst have followed had my pathway led
Even to the scaffold ; had the flashing light
Of the raised axe made strong men shrink with dread,

Thou, 'midst the hush of thousands, wouldst have been
 With thy clasped hands beside me kneeling seen,
 And meekly bowing to the shame thy head—
 The shame!—oh! making beautiful to view
 The might of human love!—fair thing! so bravely true!

“ There was thine agony—to love so well
 Where fear made love life's chastener. Heretofore
 Whate'er of earth's disquiet round thee fell,
 Thy soul, o'erpassing its dim bounds, could soar
 Away to sunshine, and thy clear eye speak
 Most of the skies when grief most touched thy cheek.
 Now, that far brightness faded, never more
 Couldst thou lift heavenwards, for its hope, thy heart,
 Since at heaven's gate it seemed that thou and I must part.

“ Alas! and life hath moments when a glance
 (If thought to sudden watchfulness be stirred)—
 A flush—a fading of the cheek, perchance,
 A word—less, less—the cadence of a word—
 Lets in our gaze the mind's dim veil beneath,
 Thence to bring haply knowledge fraught with death!
 —Even thus, what never from thy lip was heard
 Broke on my soul:—I knew that, in thy sight,
 I stood, howe'er beloved, a recreant from the light!”

With “The Siege of Valencia” and “The Forest Sanctuary,” the conspicuous progress of Mrs. Hemans' mind was at an end; and the future shews us nothing but its decline.

The death of her mother, in 1827, and the marriage of her sister, in the following year, combined with the desire of obtaining opportunities of society for herself, and additional facilities for the education of her sons, induced Mrs. Hemans to leave Wales, and fix her residence at Wavertree, in the neighbourhood of Liverpool. Here, with the exception of occasional absences, during which she twice visited Scotland, and once made an excursion to the English lakes, she passed the three years whose records fill the principal portion of Mr. Chorley's volumes. Of these records we have already intimated our opinion. Exhibiting, as they do, great weaknesses in the character of this gifted woman, we certainly do not envy the taste, which has exposed them to the world. Through the whole correspondence, and its accompanying commentaries, there is exhibited by her a craving vanity, a restless and feverish anxiety for display, a desire to be always *en représentation*, and all this under the studious affectation of very much disliking the eminence, on which she would remind her correspondents that she stands. It was at Wavertree

that she formed her acquaintance with Mr. Chorley's family; and we find her constantly walking over to his house, with some adulatory letter in her pocket, or some story of the way in which her reputation has discovered her retreat, in order that she may explain to its members how disagreeable a thing is fame. Nor is this all. These stories, and these disclaimers, are not unfrequently accompanied by remarks on others,—persons, to whom she acknowledges that she is bound by ties of gratitude, but persons, nevertheless, on whom she passes observations, unguarded, and, perhaps, unmeant, but calculated to produce the most unpleasant feelings both in this country and in America.—Was it right in Mr. Chorley to give such documents, and such anecdotes to the world?

Another reprehensible, and, with her, ungraceful, habit of mind, which Mrs. Hemans seems to have contracted during her residence at Wavertree, was exhibited in an assumption of girlishness—an affectation of being a romp, under cover of which she was perpetually endeavouring to be thought to say and do the silliest things in the world. Sir Walter Scott once administered a reproof to her on the subject, of which she seems to have been so little sensible, that she reports it as a very delightful joke to Mr. Chorley, while he, again, is so unconscious of its significance, that, in his turn, he reports it to the world! We happen to know, that she did herself great wrong by these habits, and created impressions very much the reverse of those which she intended to produce.—But it is time to escape from these painful frivolities. The poetical life of Mrs. Hemans, during her residence at Wavertree, was a blank; and we gladly, therefore, pass on to views more agreeable to that love which we entertain for her memory.

In the spring of 1831, Mrs. Hemans took leave of England for the last time, and established her abode in Dublin. Here, in the society of her friends, her mind instantly regained its tone, and her spirit rose up once more to the full height of its moral stature. Indeed, her previous visit to the Lakes seems to have led the way to this better frame of feeling, and, perhaps, as a consequence, to her determination (formed amid their solitudes) of quitting Liverpool. The step was a wise one. All the habits and sentiments which had characterised her residence there, seem to have been as completely lost sight of, from the moment she had left it, as if they had never been entertained: even her subsequent letters to the writer of these Memoirs, though very kind (as her nature was), exhibit a dignity and self-possession which, we think, must have astonished him. It was obvious

that the separation was one of more than distance. Here, too, by degrees, under the influences of reflection, and amid the warnings of sickness, a still further "change came o'er the spirit of her dream," and her heart became solemnised, as she drew within the shadow of that last dwelling to which she was fast hastening. She had for some time formed the design of dedicating her muse to the service of the temple; but the resolution was formed when she had no longer the opportunity of connecting its execution with the exercise of her fullest powers; and indeed, looking at the reasons to which we have adverted in the course of this notice, we doubt whether her powers were ever equal to the successful performance of such a scheme. Her poetry was, as we have seen, too much the result of her peculiarities of thinking and writing, to flourish in separation from them.

Her "*Scenes and Hymns of Life*," published during this last portion of her days, and the poems collected as her poetical remains since her death, are, for the most part, written in this new tone, and devoted to this better philosophy. But their merit, in other respects, is far below that of her previous productions. Her lyric of "*Despondency and Aspiration*," which has been praised, is obscure and faulty, and her "*Sabbath Sonnet*," the latest music of her lyre, and her song of "*The Swan*," though touching as dictated from a death-bed, and sacred for the feelings amid which it must have been composed, and for the subjects with which it deals, must look to those reasons alone for the interest with which it will long continue to be read. She exercised her high gift of song, for the last time (and in the service of him who gave it) on the 26th day of April, 1835: and on the 16th day of the following month, passed calmly away, through the portals of a gentle sleep, into the shadow of the grave.

In the course of our remarks upon her various poems, our estimate of her genius, and our opinion of her chances with posterity, have, we think, been sufficiently expressed. She wrote too rapidly, and too much, and her powers were impaired by the too long indulgence of those peculiarities, to which we have alluded. But it has been truly said of her, by a writer of her own sex, whom Mr. Chorley quotes, that "she never degraded the poet's art: if she did not as well, as, under more fortunate circumstances, she might have done, she never published anything that might not be said to make a necessary part of her poetic reputation." It is hard upon her, that Mr. Chorley should have done this for her!—We can have no doubt whatever that the music of her fine lyrics will float down the stream of time; and that her name will

be a familiar word on our children's lips. It is by her detached pieces that she has the best chance of surviving,—though not by them alone that she deserves to survive. Her poetry has not, in other instances, taken the best forms for popularity: but the one will preserve the other, and the gifted will read them both. We only trust that her name and works will go down to posterity, uninjured by the silly records contained in Mr. Chorley's memorials.

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